

SEVERALL

(6) 6.

POLITIQUE

AND

MILITARIE

OBSERVATIONS:

UPON

The Civill, and Militarie Governments;
The Birth, Increase, and Decay of Monarchies,
The carriage of Princes, Magistrates,
Commanders, and Favourites.

Collected out of the best, Ancient, and Modern Authors.

By D. P. Gent. A Well-wisher to Peace and Unitie.

2 Sam. 33.3.

He that ruleth over men, must be just, ruling in the feare of God.

Prov. 8.15.

By me Kings reign, and Princes decree justice.

Prov. 1.7.

*The feare of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fooles despise
wisdome and instruction.*

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The Authors.

The Holy Scriptures.
Iosephus.

Herodotus.

Plato.

Aristotle.

Thucydides.

Plutarch.

Dionisius Halicar.

Herodian.

Appian.

Livius.

Cesars Comment.

Cicero.

Suetonius.

Tacitus.

Quintius Curtius.

Sir. Walter Rawleigh.

The English

The French

The Spanish

The Germane

The Netherland

The Turkish

Contarini's

Bodin's

Guichardine.

The Politick & Militarie Discourses of la Noüe.

Phillip de Commynes.

The wisdome of Charon.

Sleidan.

Peter Matthew.

The Perfect Captain, written by the Duke de Roan.

} Histories.

} Commonweale.

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To the READER.

MY aime in the publishing of these Observations, tends only to these foure particulars. 1. To shew the excellencie and moderation of the Civill Government of *England*; by the comparing of it with these severall sorts of Governments now in use, in most parts of the world: As a Painter by the comparing of two faces one against the other, can better discern which of the two is the fairest. 2. To perswade our men of warre, to embrace a stricter Military Discipline, and to obey their chiefe Commanders, and the chief Commanders the supream power of the State; because the Military Government is by the Law of God, of Nature, and of Men to be subordinary to the Civill; and *obedience is better then sacrifice; and to hearken, then the fat of rams.* 1 Sam. 15. 22. 3. To reunite the judgements and the affections of

Marke 3.
24.

* For them
that honour
me I will
honour.
1 Sam. 2;
30.

men that have been divided and rent asunder by our late unnaturall warre, and by the variety of opinions in points of Religion, which have been fomented in this Kingdom, by the pernicious policy of the Jesuits; on purpose to divide this Nation into divers Parties; because they know, that a Kingdom divided against it selfe cannot stand. 4. To induce all pious and zealous Christians, to become earnest and humble Petitioners to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, that they would be pleased to give the precedencie to the settling of the true worship of God, and to such a discipline agreeing to his word, as may utterly extinguish the Schisme, suppress Idolatry, and repaire the breaches of the Church, as the only Rock or foundation, that is able to beare and keep up the immateriall structure they intend to erect, of the Civill and Military Governments of this Kingdome; and the only way to make themselves famous, and * truly honourable, in this life, and by the merits of Christ, for ever blessed in the life to come, &c.

Thy humble Servant in the Lord,

D. P.



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SEVERALL



SEVERALL
POLITICK & MILITARIE
OBSERVATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Of Order and Obedience.



Ith no kinde of Government whatsoever can subsist or continue without Order and Obedience, I hold it convenient to speak of these two in the first place.

All things have been created in Order, and by Order have been maintained from the Creation to this day, by the same omnipotent power that created them, otherwise they had been annihilated or reduced

Gen. 1. 5.
to the later
end.

to their former Chaos; and daily experience doth shew, that all things without Order run to ruine and confusion. 1. Without Order the Church is overthrown by Schismes and Heresies. 2. Without Order Tumults, Seditions, and popularie Commotions do destroy a Commonweale. 3. Without Order a victorious Army is suddenly routed and defeated; in a word, all things go to ruine and decay without Order. Neither can Order be observed without Obedience, and therefore they are inseparable companions; for instance, If the common souldier refuse to obey his Serjant, the Serjant his Captaine, the Captaine his Major,

the Major the Colonell, and the Colonell his Generall, how can an Army be ranged in order or battell array? And in the Civill Government, if the under Officer refuse to obey the charge of the upper Officer, and the upper Officer the command of the Magistrates, and the Magistrates the ordinances of the Supreme Power, the Common weale must of necessitie fall into a confused Anarchie. And likewise in the Church Government, if the Deacons will not obey the Elders, nor the Elders the directions of the Pastors, nor the Pastors the orders of the Provinciall Synod; nor the Provinciall Synod the resaults and decrees of the Nationall Councill, there must of necessitie insue a confusion in the Church. And it is certaine, that all our miseries and distractions proceed from want of Order and Obedience: for all will command, and none obey, and all disdaine to follow the profession in which they were bred from their youth, but every one doth in these licentious dayes, as the

bJudg. 17.
ver. 6.

Jewes did when there was no ^b King in Israel, viz. that as seemeth good in his own eyes; for the Pesants will pay no Tithes, the Artificer will ascend the Pulpits, the Souldiers are Law-makers, and servants ride on horseback, and Princes run a foote; In a word, the world is turned upside down, and all because of the enormities of our sins and transgressions. It is high time then that the Law made by the Emperour *Septimus Severus* should be revived among us, viz. That every one be prohibited from meddling with other mens professions, and practise that only in which he hath been brought up from his youth; so shall grave Senators be Law-makers, great Commanders exercise their men of war, common souldiers scoure their armes, and learne to obey their Officers; learned Divines ascend the Pulpits, Artificers follow their trades, and Peasants hold the Plough, and every one obey the Magistrates, and the Magistrates the Supreme Power, so shall we see the golden Age flourish againe, and jarres, divisions, and contentions be banished out of the Land, &c.

c^{ee} *Herodian* in the life of *Severus*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Civill Government in Generall.

THE most barbarous Nations under the Sunne have a kinde of government among themselves, and the most contemptible creatures by a naturall sagacitie provide themselves of food in Summer against the barren season of Winter; and yet there are men in these dayes that would

would have no government at all; and others more brutish then the former, would have all things common, and in lieu of a just government bring in Polygamie, and paritie of goods, and such other imaginary conceits leading to a confused Anarchie. Now to rectifie their judgement, I will represent to their view the severall sorts of Government that are in use at this time in most parts of the world, that they may judge themselves which is the best; and when they have seriously considered of them, they will find that the ancient Government of *England* is not inferiour to any. Among all the Civill governments these three are called simple. 1. The Democraticie. 2. The Aristocratie. 3. The Monarchie; and from these are derived and composed all other Governments whatsoever, the Family government only excepted; that is of it self pure and simple. The Democraticie may become by accident Turbulent and Arbitrarie. The Aristocratie factious and Arbitrarie; and the Monarchie may be distinguished by absolute, imperious, elective, divided, and Arbitrarie: besides these are composed Monarchies, as the Monarchies of *England*, that is Monarchicall, Aristocraticall, and Democraticall; and others that be only Monarchicall and Aristocraticall, as all the Elective Kingdomes are. Then there are some Common-weales that be composed of the Aristocraticall and Democraticall, and such are the States of *Holland*. Others are pure and simple and not composed, as divers Common-weales in *Switzerland*, and the *Grisons*, and other parts that are simple Democracies; and other that are pure Aristocracies, as *Venice*, the Empire of *Germanie*, *Genna*, *Lucas*, and *Ragouze*. Now you are to take notice, that in all Composed governments the Supreme power of the state is divided, and that this Supreme power doth consist in these foure prerogatives. 1. To repeale old Lawes, and to make and confirme new. 2. To conclude peace, and proclaime war. 3. To nominate all chief Officers of the Crowne, whether Ecclesiasticall, Civill, or Militarie. 4. To grant pardons and remissions to criminall offenders. Now if these prerogatives belong only to the Prince, then it is an absolute Monarchie; and if they be divided between the Prince and his Nobles, then it is an elective Monarchie; and if they be divided between the Prince, the Nobles, and the Commons or the representatives for them, then it is a composed Monarchie of three simple governments, and such a one is the Kingdome of *England*. But if these prerogatives be only in the Nobles then its a pure Aristocratie, and such a one is *Venice*; but if they be divided between the Nobles and the Commons, then it is a composed Common-weale, part Aristocraticall, and part Democraticall,

and such a one are the States of *Holland*; but if they be only in the People, then it is a pure and simple Democratic, and such a one was the Common-weale of *Rome*, and of *Athens*. As for the Family-government the supreme power of it is in the Father of the Family, and therefore the just absolute Monarchie and it doth best sympathise and agree. Having thus shown how the government of a State may be knowne by those that enjoy the prerogatives belonging to the Supreme power, I will now speake of these particulars in order, &c.

CHAP. III.

Of the Oeconomical Government.

THe Familie-government derives its antiquity from the very creation; and therefore the most ancient of any, and the originall Spring of all Common-weales and Monarchies; because they are composed and have their being by families. And these three things are to be observed in this government, 1. Who hath the supreme power of the family. 2. How many persons make a compleat family. 3. How those persons are to be qualified. For the first, the Father of the family hath the supreme power of it, for all the rest are to be subject and obedient unto him, as the lord paramount of all; and therefore as I have said before, this government doth best agree and sympathise with a just absolute Monarchy. For the second, these five persons make up a compleat family, 1. the father. 2. the mother. 3. the child. 4. a man-servant. 5. a maid-servant. But if any of the three first persons be wanting, it is a defective family, although there be twenty men and maid-servants to supply their places; And as there are small, medium, and great Common-weales, so there is of families; the smaller, as I have said, is of five persons; the medium, of twenty or thirty persons; and the great, of three, of four, and five hundred persons; but there are few of these last in these dayes, because hospitality is banished out of the Land. For the third, 1. the Father of the family is to be religious, prudent, and frugall, loving and kind to his wife, grave towards his children, and rather austere then familiar with his servants; the foreign affaires belong to him, and the domestick to his wife. 2. the Mother of the family is to be chaste, mecke, and pious, and towards her husband loving and obedient, like *Sarah*; and towards her servant and the poore, like *Dorcas*; she is to have a speciall care to bring up her children in the feare of God, and to endeavour in all things to imi-

1 Pet. 3. 6

1 A. 9. 39

tate

tate that virtuous matron, described elegantly in the 31. *Chapter* of the *Proverbs of Solomon*. 3. the children are to respect, honour, and obey their parents; that they may draw upon them those blessings promised in the fifth Commandement, and avoid those curses denounced in Gods word, against disobedient and rebellious children. 4. men and maid-servants are to be faithfull and obedient to their Master and Mistresse, and to abstaine from being 'eye-servants, but are to do diligently such things as are commanded them, without murmuring or grumbling. In a word, God must be worshipped by all, morning and evening; and the whole family must be a pattern of all virtue and piety, temperance and civility, to all the adjacent neighbour-hood. The differences that are between a family, and a Common-weale, are also to be observed; and they are these, 1. When a family doth associate it selfe into the Politique body of a Common-weale, the supreme power that was in the father, becomes subordinate to the supreme power of the State. 2. They are to aid and assist according to their ability, with just and legall contributions, to maintaine the dignity of the State. 3. and lastly, They are to submit themselves, and obey the Lawes and Statutes, made and confirmed by those that are, by the unanimous consent of the people, appointed Legistatours, and are intrusted with the supreme power of the Common-weale; and in lieu of these things, they have their share in all things that be common to the State; as the Publique Structures, the Common-hall, the Market-place, the Streets and Rodes, the medowes, pastures, and Arable-grounds, and the Priviledges, and Liberties of the Common-weale, &c.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Romane Democratie.

Sith the Democracies Common-weales that are now in being, as those of the *Switzers*, and *Grisons*, viz.^a *Dinzy*, *Schnitz*, *Under-vald*, & *Zug*, and *Apenzel*, are of small extent, & of little repute, I will describe the Democracy-government of the Comon-weale of *Rome*; the best and greatest of that kind that ever was in the world, the *Athenian* being much inferiour unto it. 1. It had a grave Senate, composed of the most ancient, learned, and prudent men of the common-weale: they were at the first chosen out of the Nobles, but because this partiality bred great dissentions, it was agreed, that the *Plebian*s should be admitted to be Senatours, as well as the Nobles, so they were of approved wise-

See Livy:
m 1. Decade
ll. 12, 3, 4.

dome, valour, and merit; the number of these Senatours, were one hundred at the first, but according as the Common-weale did increase, so was their number multiplied to two hundred, then to three hundred; and in *Cicero's* days, they were four hundred, but never exceeded the number of six hundred. 2. They had two *Consuls*, which were chosen every yeare; the one to remaine in the City, and the other to be Generall of their Army in the field: but when their dominions were enlarged, both the *Consuls* were Generals of Armies, and did cast lots, into which Province they should march; and for the Government of the City, they did create Magistrates that were called *Pretours*, and *Plebian Tribunes* to defend the Liberties of the people. 3. In all exigencies and perillous occasions, in which the Common-wealth was in danger, they made choise of a Dictatour, out of their most faithfull and valorous Commanders, who had the Supreme power of the State in his hands, and for that cause, his commission was limited to a very short time; for we read of some that gave up their places within eight dayes, other in fifteen dayes, and some within a month, two, or three; and none but *Sylla* and *Julius Caesar*, that did continue in the same for certaine yeares, and that was also by violence and force. 4. They had their *Censors*, whose office was to purge the Senate, casting out such Senatours that were vicious, or had committed some misdemeanors; they did also censure all disorders in manners or apparell, and had the charge of the publique structures; then they had their *Proconsuls*, which were Lieutenants Generals of Armyes, and their *Questors*, that were their Treasurers of Provinces and Armies; and for their idolatrous worship, they had their great *Pontiffe*, their *Augures*, *Priests*, *Vestales*, *Fidenates*, and divers others. And because the Supreme power of the State, was absolutely in the greatest part of the people, for no new lawes could be confirmed, nor old lawes repealed, nor warre proclaimed, nor peace concluded, nor Magistrates, nor chiefe Commanders nominated or chosen, nor criminal offenders pardoned, without the unanimous consent of the greatest part of the People; All the *Romane* citizens were divided into five and thirty Centuries, by which means their Votes were suddenly collected: for when they were assembled in the field of *Mars*, and that eighteen Centuries were of one minde, the other were not called. The Senate had this power, to hear and give answer to forraigne Ambassadors, and to digest all affaires of State, and of warre, and to advise, consult, and resolve upon all things that were judged fit to be proposed to the people; And for the nomination of their chiefe Magistrates

b See *Livy*
in his 1.
Decade lib.
3, 4, 5, 6,
7, 8.

gistrates and Commanders, they did name halfe a dozen, and their names being read openly before the people, they had the prerogative to choose one of them, that was most in their esteem or favour. This government is held to be by the best Politicians, the worst of the three, because it is subject to become turbulent, and seditious, and apt to popular commotions, and commonly of small continuance: for in lesse then five hundred yeares the *Romane* Democratic suffered twelve mutations; *i Lla. 1. Du. 1. 3, 4. 5, 6, 7, 8. See Thucydides.* and had it not been for their wise and grave Senate, it had not continued halke so long; for within threescore yeares after that *Pericles*, out of ambition, had perswaded the *Athenians* to annihilate their great Councell of *Aristopage*, consisting of sixty wise Senatours, their Common-weale came to ruine, and was utterly overthrowne &c.

CHAP. V.

Of the Venicians Aristocratie.

THE ancient Aristocracies Common-weales of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Marceillians*, were according to the testimony of *Aristotle*, *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, the best and most famous that were in their dayes. But at this present *Venice* and *Ragouze* are reputed the best: I will then describe the *Venician* government, because it is the greater, and of larger extent then the other. 1. They have an Elective *Duke*, that is alwayes chosen out of the six ancient Senatours, that are of the Privy Councell, that make with the *Duke* the Councell of seven. 2. They have another Councell called the Councell of ten, composed of the most ancient Senatours after the above named. 3. They have another Councell called the Councell of thirty Senatours, younger then the former; so when they elect a new *Duke*, after the death of the old *Duke*, *i See Constantine in his Commonwealth.* he is chosen out of the six Senatours of the Privy Councell, and this place is supplied out of those of the Councell of ten. and this place is supplied out of the Councell of thirty, and this place is supplied out of the Generall Councell, that is composed of all Noble *Venicians*; the whole number of which doth amount, from twenty years upwards, to five thousand persons, but there never meet in the Generall Councell Chamber above fifteen hundred, the other being employed abroad for the service of the Common-weale: some of them being chiefe Commanders and Officers of their Armies, others Governours of cities and strong holds, others are publique Magistrates, and others are sent abroad as Ambassadors to forraign Princes and States. In the Nobles of

m See John
Bodin in
his Com-
men-
weale.

n See Gu-
ichardin in
his 2. and
4. and 5.
Book.

of this Generall Councell, is intrusted the supreme power of the State; for no new lawes can be confirmed, nor old repealed, nor any chiefe Magistrates and Commanders nominated or chosen, nor warre proclaimed, nor peace concluded, nor any taxes imposed, nor criminall offenders pardoned; but by the unanimous consent of the greatest part of this Generall Councell, and to make a "compulsive and legall decree, there must be eight hundred of them of one mind; so in a full house, there must be twelve or thirteen hundred Gentlemen. The chamber where this Generall Councell is kept, is built upon stone Arches, and one of the most spacious and beautifull in Christendome, for it can contain two thousand persons, and is divided into double long rowes of seats, having a space between them for officers to passe by, for to collect their votes, which is suddainly done, by balloting, without noise or confusion. At the upper end of the Chamber there is a Tribunall erected, and a chaire of State for the *Duke*, and on the two sides of it ascending seats for the six and forty Senatours. The Members of the house are summoned once or twice a week, as occasion requires, by the ringing of a bell, hanging in one of the Towers of the Palace of St. *Mark*, near unto the Generall Councell Chamber. All the civill and military affaires, are first debated, digested, and resolved upon, by these three Councells of six and forty Senatours, and the *Duke*, which makes up the number of seven and forty persons; the affaires of greatest concernment are reported first to the Councell of ten, and then to the Councell of seven, and the meanest affaires to the Councell of thirty; and when all things have been debated, and that which is held to be fit to be proposed, or doth require the assent of the generall Councell, it is ingrossed, and read openly, and their affirmative or negative votes required: The *Duke* having no other prerogative then a casting vote. Now if it be to make some new Law of concernment, or to proclaime warre, or conclude peace, with forraign Princes or States, the three Councells above spoken of, meet all together, and do argue and debate the case, some of them making excellent Orations, *pro* and *contra*, as there are divers instances of it in *Guichardin*, and then this great Councell is called the Councell of *Praty*, and in the conclusion, two of the most probable opinions are ingrossed, and in the Generall Councell read openly, and they have the prerogative to make choise of which they please; by their consultations, and digesting, and exact examination of things, the *Fenicians* do seldome undertake any enterprise rashly & unadvisedly. Now by these circumstances and narration, it is apparent, that the supreme power

power of the *Venetian* Common-weale, is only in the Nobles hands, and that their Duke is but a Titulary Duke, and that their Senators have no power, but a precedency of honour and dignity, above the noble *Venetians*, that will admit of none, let them be never so rich, into their generall Councell, except they be defended of the ancient noble *Venetians* families; so that the *Venetian* government is a pure and simple Aristocracy. This government is held by the best^o Politicians, to be more noble, and to excell the former, because it is not so subject to seditions, and popular commotions; and besides, it is of longer continuance, for the *Lacedaemonian* Common-weale did continue above five hundred years without change, and the *Venetian* Common-weale hath continued twelve hundred years, and never suffered but three mutations. The only bane of the Aristocracy is, when it becomes factious, for then it becomes suddenly arbitrary, as it is judiciously noted by Sir^o Walter Rawleigh, &c.

*o Aristotie,
and Con-
stuntin,
and Bodin.*

*o Sir Wal-
ter Raw-
leigh. lib. 3.
chap. 9. pag.
89.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the just and absolute Monarchie.

THIS Government, in the opinion of the best Politicians, is the best of the three simple Governments, so the heart of the Prince be sanctified, and endowed with supernaturall graces, otherwise it is apt to become arbitrary. I confesse it is most like unto the divine Government, because there is but one God, distinguished in three persons, that doth rule and govern heaven and earth; and like the family government, of whom the father of the family is paramount Lord: but God is the perfection it self, and is not like men, subject to passions and infirmities, and there is great difference between the ambition of the father of a private family, and of an absolute Prince, that hath under his command millions of men; besides, among the *Romane* Emperours that were absolute Princes, how many can be found that were just, or did rule according to the Law of the Empire, and of nature? surely for one, ten shall be found, that did trample these two Lawes under their feet; Nay if we examine the lives of the Kings of *Judah*, it will be found that the best, and the most religious of them, did transgresse the Law of God, and of nature, by humane and naturall infirmities. And if we examine the Raignes of the *Spanish*, *French*, and *English* Kings, the number is very small that did observe the Law of God, of nature, and of their Realm: nay, we shall finde, that the best of them have by humane in-

o See Suetonius, Herodian, and Dion, in the lives of the Romane Emperors.

¶ See 1 &
2. of Kings

(See the
Histories
of Spain,
France, and
England.

firmitie fallen into great finnes, errors, and transgressions. The best of the *Romane* Emperours were *Augustus, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Marke Aurelius, Pertinax*, the two *Severins, Constantine*, and *Theodosius*; and among the Kings of *Judah*, *David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah*, and *Josiah*. Among the *Spanish*, *Alphonse*, and *Ferdinand*. Among the *French*, *Philip, Augustus, Saint Lewis, Charles the fifth*, and *Lewis the twelfth*. Among the *English*, *Richard the first, Henry the seventh, Edward the sixth*, and *Queen Elizabeth*; and yet all these had their failings and infirmities, as I could easily make it appear, if I were minded to rip up the frailties of religious and vertuous Princes. But what I say, is to shew that Princes are men, and are subject as well as others to passions and infirmities; and therefore that a well composed Monarchy is to be preferred before an absolute Monarchy, and that good lawes, with the three Estates of *France*, or the Parliaments of *England*, were, and are wholesome reines to keep in the irregular passions and ambition of Princes. But to return where I left. Although an absolute Prince hath the supreme power of the Government into his hands, and doth enjoy the four prerogatives spoken of before, yet is he bound to rule as neare as he can according to the Law of God, of nature, and of his Realm, and to use his subjects, as a good Father of a family doth his children, and servants: for if he doth oppresse them with imposts, taxes, and contributions, or doth not execute justice and judgement impartially, but suffereth injustice, rapines, and extortions to raige, he falsifies the Oath taken at his Coronation, and degenerates from that trust reposed upon him: viz. to be the nursing Father, and the protector and defender of his people: and so by degrees alienates the love and affections of his subjects from him, which is the surest and strongest guard of a Prince, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Oligarchie, or divided Monarchie.

Which way soever I cast mine eyes, whether upon the *Romane, Greeke, Spanish, French, and English Histories*, I finde this government to have been destructive to the Princes and Kingdomes that have used, or practised the same; as it shall be proved by instances. 1. *Romulus* and *Remus*, brethren, did divide the *Romane Monarchy* betwixt them, but *Romulus*, out of ambition to raige alone, slew his brother *Remus*, and the *Romane Senate* having chosen *Tatius* in his

1 *Livius* 1.
Decade 1. 2.

place

place; *Julius* slew him also for the same cause. 2. The ten *Decem-virs* having usurped the *Romane* government, did divide the same between themselves, but by their tyranny & the enraged lust of *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten, the common people rose up in armes, & imprisoned *Claudius*, and exiled the rest: and he to avoid the hands of Justice, did poison himselfe, which caused a change and mutation in the *Romane* Common-weale. 3. *Caesar*, *Crassus*, and *Pompeius* having usurped the supreme power of the *Romane* State, did divide the same between them, *Crassus* went into *Armenia*, *Caesar* into *France*, and *Pompeius* remained in *Italy*; and when *Crassus* had been slaine by the *Parthians*, *Caesar* came with his Army into *Italy*, and having overthrown *Pompeius* in the plaine of *Pharzelles*, changed the *Romane* Democracy into an Imperious Monarchy. 4. After *Caesar* had been slaine by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Augustus*, *Lepidus*, and *Antonius* divided the Empire between them, but in a short time after, *Augustus* out of ambition to reigne alone, overthrew them both. 5. *Septimus Senerius*, having divided the Empire between his two sons, *Bassianus* *Caracalla*, and *Geta*, before two yeares came about, *Bassianus* out of ambition to raige alone, slew his brother *Geta* in his mothers armes. 6. Old *Andronicus* having divided the Empire of *Constantinople* between himself, and his young Cosen *Alexius*, caused presently after, out of ambition to reigne alone, this harmlesse Prince to be strangled, after he had most cruelly murdered the Empreisse his mother, and caused the Lady *Mary*, and *Caesar* her husband, daughter and sonne in law to the former Emperour to be poysoned, but this cruell Tyrant, was by a just retaliation of God, hanged up by the heeles by *Isaack Angelus*, that succeeded him in the Empire. 7. *Don Pedro* *Crudello* King of *Spaine* was slaine by his own brother, the Earle of *Astramara*, out of ambition to raige alone, and also by a just judgement of God upon that Tyrant that had murdered his mother, his wife, and his two younger brothers, and many great noble men of *Spaine*. 8. *Clotaire*, the first of that name, King of *France*, did divide his Kingdom between his four sonnes, which was the cause of bloudy wars between these brethren, and the overthrow of them. 9. *Lewis*, called *Le de bonaire* Emperour and King of *France*, did divide his dominions between his three sonnes, which was the cause of great civill warres, and of the utter overthrow of some of them. 10. and lastly, *William* the Conquerour having divided *Normandy* from the Crowne, and given the same to *Robert Courtois* his eldest sonne, *Henry* the first King of *England*, his younger brother, to obtain the same, made cruell warre against *Robert*, and at last cast him

in *Livius* 1.
Decade 1. 3.

x See *Plutarch* in
their lives.

y See *Appian*
in the
Roman Ci-
vill wars.

z See *Herodian* in
their lives.

a See the
Greek and
Turkie Hi-
story, from
pag. 49. to
pag. 53.

b See the
Spanish
Historia
in his life.

c See the
Historie
of *France*.

d See *Speed*,
and *Sir*
Walter
Raleigh
in his Pre-
face.

in prison, and put out his eyes: for the which inhumanity, God by a just retaliation, did avenge his blood upon the children of *Henry*, that were all of them, *Maude* excepted, cast away at sea. By these instances it may be observed, that this kinde of government is fatall and destructive, because of the naturall ambition of men, to all those that practise the same, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Elective Monarchie.

THis kind of government was in little use in ancient times, for *Saul* was the first Elective Prince that we reade of, and had not he been rejected of God, his sonne *Jonathan* had succeeded him: the first *Roman* Kings were also Elective Kings, and *Darius* sonne of *Histaspes* King of *Persia*, was also elected by the seven Princes of *Persia*: or as some would have it, by the neighing of his horse; but in these dayes there are many Elective Kingdoms, viz. *Hungaria*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Bohemia*, and the Empire of *Germany* is also by its ancient institution Elective. The supreme power of the Elective government is divided between the Prince and the Nobles, because it is a composed Monarchy, partly Aristocraticall, and partly Monarchicall: the inconveniences of it are these, 1. The Nobles Lord it over the Commons, as the *Danes* did anciently here in *England*: and the *Peasants* live under a greater servitude in the Elective Kingdoms, then they do in *France*: for three dayes in the week they must work for their Land-lords, that make very slaves of them, and take their cattle at what rate they please; and besides, if they complaine of it, and that their Land-lords kill them, they are free of this murder for ten dollars: if they can but avoid for four and twenty houres the Marshall Law. 2. It is subject between the death of one Prince, and the election of another, to fall into a confused Anarchy, in which time many rapines, extortions, and murders are committed. 3. It fomentes great divisions, factions, and parties in the State upon every new election, some Nobles standing for this Prince, and others for that; from which riseth oftentimes a bloody civill warre. 4. It is of small continuance, because the Nobles at every election doth inroach upon the Regall power, and do many times depose their Princes upon small occasions, as the *Danes* did *Christiane* the second, who was inforced to fly with his wife and children into *Zealand* to save his life, and to prevent their fury, and in his stead, chose *Frederick* his Uncle,

e Herodotus
in his life.

f See the
Histories
of Poland.

g See Sleiden
in his
Common
weale.

who

who to obtain the Crowne, was inforced to yeeld to hard conditions; and so was *Henry Duke d'Anjou*, when the *Polonians* made him their King, for they did so inroach upon his Royall Authority, that as soon as his brother *Charles* the ninth was dead, he fled from them, desiring rather to be King of *France*, then a Titulary King of *Poland*; and so they did towards *Sigismundus* King of *Sweden*. And by these inroachments the Elective Monarchies do in a short time become Aristocracies. But the favourers of Elective Monarchies doth object these reasons in commendation of them. 1. That they are free from the minority of young Princes, by whose Tutors great inconveniences happen to a State; and produce the carriage of *Richard* the third against his two hopefull Nephewes, and the ambitious carriage of *Katherine of Medecis*, that was the cause of the overthrow of her three sons, *Francis* the second, *Charles* the 9th. and *Henry* the third, all three Kings of *France* one after another. 2. That the successive Monarchie is tied, whether their Princes be capable or not to governe, to admit of them as they be, and produce *Childerick* the fourth, and *Charles* the sixth the freneticke King of *France*; but the Elective Monarchie hath this advantage, that they are free from the government of Children or of Tutors, or from insufficient Princes, because they can make choise of Princes in the flower of their age, and of approved wisdom and valour; And to these reasons the favourers of the successive Monarchie do reply; that if the old Princes be carefull to appoint wise and faithfull Tutors to their children, as *Henry* the fifth, King of *England*, and *Lewis* the 13th. King of *France* have done; that the first inconveniencie may be prevented; and for the second, that they may be deceived in their choise; for it often falls out, that hopefull Princes in their youth become cruell Tyrants in their middle age, as did the Emperour *Nero*, who in the first three years of his raign, might have served as a pattern of temperance and moderation, to all other Princes; and as it fell out with the above named *Henry* the 3^d. King of *Poland*, that was in his youth as hopefull, virtuous, and valorous a Prince, as any was then in Christendome, and yet towards the middle of his age he became so timorous and effeminate, that he was like to be deprived of his life and Crowne by the ambitious Duke of *Guis*. To conclude, in the judgement of the best Politicians, the successive Monarchie doth far excell in excellencie and duration, the Elective, &c.

See Speed
and 101
in Richards
life.

See the
Historie
of France.

See the
Chroni-
cle of
England
and France.

See Con-
tadini, and
Badin in
their Com-
mon-
weale.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Imperious Monarchie.

THis Government, and the Elective, seemes to be two extremes; for the Prince in this hath too much power, and in the Elective too little; for in the *Imperious Monarchy*, the Prince is Lord peramount, and the lives, lands, and goods of his Subjects, are absolutely at his disposing. And therefore this Government is neither warrantable by the Law of God, nor of nature; for it is a meere arbitrary Government, and I much wonder that the best *Politicians* doth notwithstanding distinguish the same from the Tyrannicall: but the reasons they alleadge for it, I will shew, and confute hereafter. The Imperious Governments now in use are these, the great *Magar*, the grimme *Tartar*, the great *Turke*, the great Duke of *Muscovy*, and the *Spanish Government* in the *West-Indies*. And the Ancient were these, the *Assyrians*, the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Persians*; and to prove they were arbitrary and tyrannicall, I will relate for instances, two actions of the Kings of *Persia*.
 * *Cambyfes* desiring to know of his Favourite *Praxaspes* what opinion the *Persians* had of him, he answered, that they admired his valour and vertue; only some did observe, that he was more addicted to wine then was fit for so great a Prince. The King seemed at that time to be well pleased with his admonition, but being one day at his cups, commanded *Praxaspes* to send for his eldest sonne, and the youth being come to the Kings presence, *Cambyfes* called for his bow and arrowes, and said to *Praxaspes*, If I shoot through thy sonnes heart, the *Persians* have misinformed thee, but if I faile, I am contented to be reputed a drunkard, and so commanding that the youth should stand at the further end of the room, he shot him through the heart. *Xerxes*, another King of *Persia*, coming into *Greece* with an army of a million of men, appointed the Rendezvouz of it at *Sardis* in *Lydia*, and sojourned for two or three dayes with *Pythius* the rich *Lydian*, who did not only entertaine the King, and his Court, but provided for the whole Army out of his flocks and gardeners, of all necessary provisions, and besides, presented to the King two thousand talents of silver, and four millions of gold, wanting seven thousand daricies; The King overcome with his liberality, refused to accept of his silver and gold, and caused the seven thousand daricies to be given him, out of his own treasury, to make up the foure millions; old *Pythius* presuming by this gift that he was greatly in the Kings favour, came the next day to beseech *Xerxes*, in consideration that he was an old

m See Constantine and Bodin.

n See Herodotus in his life.

o See Plutarch, Herodotus. & Sir Walter Rawleigh.

man,

man, that he would be pleased to exempt from the warres the youngest of his five sonnes that were in his Army, to manage his affaires, and to comfort him in his old age; but *Xerxes* was so incensed with this request, that he caused the young mans body to be cut in two, and to be impaled upon two stakes, placed on both sides the rode, where his Army was to passe. Another instance I will give, to prove that Christian Princes, that practice this Goyernment, are as tyrannicall as were the *Persian* Kings. Sir *Hierome Bose* having been sent into *Muscovy* by Queene *Elizabeth*, as her Embassadour, and being arrived at *Musco*, was royally entertained by the great Duke, who did invite him to a feast, and after dinner prayed Sir *Hierome* to ride a hunting with him, and being come in a Champion Countrey, in the midst of which was a very steep rocky hill, the Duke and Sir *Hierome* being then in discourse upon the obedience of Subjects towards their Prince; the Duke called one of his greatest Courtiers, and charged him to ride up that hill, and to set spurres to his horse, and to gallop down as hard as ever he could drive, but in the coming down the Gentleman and his horse broke their necks. Then the Duke in a smiling manner did aske Sir *Hierome Bose* whether his Queene had any Subjects so ready to obey her commands as he had; he answered, that he was perswaded she had: but that his Queene made conscience to give any such Commands to the meanest of her subjects. Now I come to confute the reasons why the *Politicians* do distinguish the Imperious Monarchy from the Arbitrary. 1. They say, that it is continued by custome, or established by conquest, and therefore no tyranny (just as if they should say, that evill is no evill, because it is in custome in these dayes,) but bad customes must be annihilated by Christian Princes. 2. It is lawfull for the Conquerour to establish what lawes he pleaseth over a conquered Nation: I answer, that it is not lawfull for a Christian Prince to establish an Imperious Government upon a conquered Nation, whether they be *Pagans* or *Christians*; nor for a *Heathen* Prince, except he will trample under his feet the law of nature; for the *Greekes* and *Romans* that were *Heathen*, did establish their owne lawes among those Nations that were conquered by them; And *William* the Conquerour did of himself, or by the Counsel of his Barons that came over with him annihilate within few years the Imperious Government of the Sword that he had practised in *England* in the beginning of his reign, and did establish the *Norman* Lawes; and his Successours afterward granted *Magna Charta*, and established a well composed Monarchy, farre better, and more moderate then the Lawes of *Normandy*. But

See the Narrations of the Muscovite Voyages.

See Livy, Thucydides, and Plutarch. See Speed in William the Conquerors life.

Ferdinand

f See Guichardine.

g See the Historie of the West-Indies.

h See the Historie of the Netherlands.

Ferdinand of Arragon, *Charles the fifth*, and *Philip the second King of Spaine*, in whose reigns the *West-Indies* were discovered by *Christopher Columbinus* a *Genovese*, and afterwards conquered by the *Spaniards*, did not deale so with the poore *Indians*: for after they had slaine nineteen millions, they imposed upon them this Imperious Government, to keep them under like slaves; for their lives, lands, and goods are all at the disposing of the mercilesse *Spaniards*, and in lieu to induce these poore heathen by their courteous and humane carriage to embrace the Christian Religion, they make them abhorre and detest the same by their avarice and barbarous cruelties. And it is conceived by the most judicious Divines, that this inhumanity and impiety of the *Spanish* Nation doth duly draw Gods judgements upon their heads, and will at last be the cause to make them the most contemptible Nation under the Sun; for their subjects begin to revolt in many places. 1. They began in the *Netherlands*, so that seven of the best Provinces have shaken off their yoke. 2. The whole Kingdome of *Portingall*, and the *East-Indies* have freed themselves from their subjection. 3. *Catalonia* hath done the like, and the Kingdome of *Naples* is now about to free themselves from their Imperious Government, and that being lost, *Sicilia* and *Lombardia* will lose follow. It may then be observed, that a just and moderate Government makes Monarchies to flourish, and that imperious courses throwes them to the ground, &c.

CHAP. X.

Of the Arbitrarie Monarchie.

2 Kings
2. 1. ver. 21.
25.

MEN in these dayes should be cautious and wary how they call Princes Tyrants, for it is a name very odious in this Age, but anciently it was rather a terme of honour then of ignominie, as it may appeare by the letters of *Plato*, written to *Dionitius*, the subscription being thus, *To Dionitius the Elder, Tyrant of Syracuse*. Besides, Princes, not Rulers are not to be called Tyrants, except they have sold themselves to commit all manner of impietie and wickednesse, as it is recorded of *Abah* King of *Israel*; for the best and the most Religious Princes have had their failings and infirmities; but when they have a constant habitation in sinne, oppression, and cruelties, as these following, then men may call a Spade a Spade, and a Tyrant a Tyrant. Among the *Roman Emperours* *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Domitianus*, *Heliogabalus* may be termed to be Tyrants; and among the *Greekes*, *Andronicus* the Elder; among the *Muscovites*

Evangel.

Evan wafilawick; among the *Spanish*; *Don Pedro il Cruella*; among the *Italians*; *Alexander Borgia*; among the *French*; *Charles the ninth*; and among the *Engliff*; *Richard the third*. But if any desires to see the differences in the carriage of a just Prince, and of a Tyrant, *John Bodin* in his *Common-weales* describes it thus. 1. The just Prince conformes himselfe and all his actions to the Law of God, of nature, and of his Realme, but the Tyrant regards them not, and with contempt tramples them under his feete, and makes his irregularie will the rule of his actions. 2. The just Prince cherisheth Pietie, and promotes Religion, making the word of God, and his Worship, his delight; but the Tyrant takes his delight in profanenesse and impietie. 3. The just Prince takes pleasure to see his Subjects to increase in wealth, and live in prosperitie, and procures their peace and welfare; but the Tyrant hath no other aime, but to enrich himselfe, to satisfie his lusts, to enjoy his pleasures, and to fleece his Subjects to the very skin. 4. The just Prince doth pardon the injuries done to himself, and punish the wrongs done to others; but the Tyrant doth connive at publique offences, and vindicates cruelly the offences done to himself, nay, the very words of men, if he conceive they blemish his fame or reputation. 5. The just Prince is the Champion, and preserver of the honour of Virgins, and chaste Matrons; but the Tyrant is their Ravisher, and triumphs in their shame and dishonour. 6. The just Prince takes in good part the admotions of his faithfull Servants and Councillors; but the Tyrant rejects their wholesome Counsels, and doth oftentimes out of spleene and rage disgrace them, or put them to death for their faithfull admonitions. 7. The just Prince endeavoureth to foment love, unitie, and concord between his Subjects; but the Tyrant sowes the teares of division and contention among them. 8. The just Prince doth desire to converse with wise, grave, and learned men; but the Tyrant will be familiar with none but with Sycophants, Panders, and Ruffians. 9. The just Prince is like a nursing Father to his Subjects, and they are as deare to him as his owne children; but a Tyrant flies their companie, and hates, and feares them. 10. The just Prince doth not apprehend his owne danger, and greatly feares the publique, and doth indeavour to prevent their miseries and calamities; but the Tyrant doth not regard the common dangers, but shakes as a leafe at his owne. 11. The just Prince prefers none to places of profit, honour, and trust, but just, wise, and valourous men; but the Tyrant prefers to such places those that comply with his humour, and are the Emislaries to his lusts, and Arbitrarie courses. 12. And lastly, The just Prince is fa-

See Bodin's Common-weale. lib. 2.

militar with his Subjects, and doth invite himself to their houses and feasts; but the Tyrant flies their conversation, and conceives their houses and banquets to be as many snares to intrap him. To conclude, Tyrants are feared, not beloved, and seldome die of a naturall death, and after this life their memorie is abhorred; but the memorie of just Princes endureth for ever, and is like a sweete perfume in mens nostrills, &c.

CHAP. XI.

Of the French Monarchie.

France was anciently a composed Monarchy; for their three Estates did represent the Democracie, the Aristocracie, and the Monarchicall Governments; but at this present it is in a manner an absolute Monarchy, for their Princes have by degrees incroached upon their subjects liberties, so that the French at this day have but a few fragments left of their ancient privileges, and those are in the hands of their Nobility, as it shall be shewn in its due place. This Monarchy is singular in these four things. 1. In its Salique law. 2. In the number of its Nobility. 3. In its duration. 4. In its extent: 1. for their Salique law, it is as ancient as the Monarchy it selfe, nay, according to some of their Authors, it is three descents ancienter; for it was not made, as some do conceive by *Philip de Valois*, to exclude the King of England, *Edward* the third, of his right to the Crowne of France, for in the first race of the French Kings there are three notable presidents to prove the contrary; and two in the last race, before *Edward* the third was borne. 2. For the number of its Nobility; No Kingdome in Christendome hath more Nobility then the French, and their valour and experience in Armes, hath been, in my opinion, with their Salique law, the two secondary causes of the duration of their Monarchy, as it shall be proved hereafter. 3. For its duration and continuance, It is without question the most ancient Monarchy in Christendome, for according to some of their Authors, *Pharamond* their first King was crowned in the yeare of our Lord 395. and according to others, in the yeare 420. so that it is at the least of twelve hundred twenty seven yeares standing; and in this time never had but three races of Princes, and sixty five Kings, and the Monarchicall government was never changed; it is true, that in the first and second race, it fell divers times into an Oligarchy, or divided Monarchy, but that did not change the government, as *Parsons* the Jesuite doth falsely endeavour to maintaine in his third Speech; for one of the brethren, among which it was divided, did alwayes re-

q See the
Inventorie
of France.

a See the
Histo-
rie of Gi-
rard du
Haylan.

unite

unite the same into one. 4. For its extent, it is the largest Kingdom at this day in *Christendome*: for *Spain*, *Hungary*, or *Poland* come short of it: and *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, and *Bohemia*, are but petty Kingdomes to it; neither would *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, if they were all joyned in one, make so large a continent, as *France* is at this present. It is true, that it hath had his increase, full growth, and declinations, as other Monarchies have had; for in the first race, it increased from *Pharamond* to *Clouis* the great, and decayed by the slowness of their Princes, that were called for that cause *Faineants*, untill *Childerick* the fourth; and under *Charles Martell*, and *Pepin*, it began to flourish againe, and came to its full growth and largest extent in *Charles* the great his dayes, Emperour and King of *France*, who had *Germany*, *Low-countrie*, part of *Spain* and *Italy*, and all *France* under his Command. This King was the second of the^b second race, and then it began to decline againe, untill the death of *Lewis* the fifth, to whom succeeded *Hugues Capet* the first King of the third and last race; and in the reigne of *Philip* the second, called *Augustus*, the tenth Prince of the last race, it was greatly enlarged, and then it comes againe to a very low ebbe in the dayes of King *John*, and *Charles* the sixth, the *Freneticks*, by the valour of *Edward* the third, and *Henry* the fifth, Kings of *England*: but it flourished againe in the latter end of the reigne of *Charles* the seventh, and in the reigne of *Lewis* the eleventh, *Charles* the eighth, *Lewis* the twelfth, *Francis* the first; and then from *Henry* the second to *Henry* the third, it fell by the civill warres into a miserable condition; and then it was againe restored to his former glory by *Henry* the fourth, and *Lewis* the thirteenth, his sonne; so that it is at this present at a larger extent then ever it was, since *Charles* the great his dayes. I shall now shew 1. How the Salique law, and the number and valour of the *French* Nobility, have, under God, been the supporters of the *French* Monarchy. 2. Which of their Princes have most incroached upon the *French* Liberties. 3. What fragments are yet left of the *French* Priviledges. For the 1. their Salique law, it is well known to those that are versed in the *French* Histories, that without their Salique law, the Kingdom of *France* had fallen divers times into the hands of strangers, and by that means the Monarchy had undoubtedly suffered mutation and change. I will only give the Reader two instances for it for brevities sake: 1. It had fallen into the hands of the *English* Nation in *Edward* the thirds dayes, by his mother *Margaret*, daughter to *Philip* the fourth, called *Le Bel*, who left three sonnes, 1. *Lewis* the tenth, called *Harin*,

^b See the
Inventorie
of France.

or *Turbulant*. 2. *Philip* the fifth, called the *Long*. 3. *Charles* the fourth, called *Le Bel*, a wise and prudent Prince. These three brethren were all Kings of *France* one after another; *Lewis* the eldest left a daughter called *Jane*, that was excluded from the Crowne, and her Uncle *Philip* crowned by the generall assent of the three Estates of *France*; and this *Philip* left foure daughters, that were also deprived of the Crowne, and their Uncle *Charles* the fourth chosen King according to the Salique law; This *Charles* left two daughters, and his Queene with childe, whercupon the three Estates of *France* were summoned to appoint who should be Tutor, or Regent, if the Queene had a sonne: The competitors were *Edward* the third, King of *England*, right heire to the Crowne by his mothers right, according to other Nations, but debarred from it by the Salique law; and *Philip de Valois* Cosen *Germane* by the Masculine line, for his father *Charles*, Earle of *Valois* was brother to *Philip le Bel*, and son to *Philip* the third, called the *Hardy*, or the *Stout*. But by the unanimous consent of the three Estates of *France*, *Philip de Valois* was appointed to be Regent, if the Queene had a sonne, and King, if she had a daughter, according to the fundamentall Law of the Kingdome. 2. *Henry* the second, King of *France*, left foure sons, and five daughters, *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, who were all Kings of *France* one after another, and left no legitimate issue, and *Hercules* Duke of *Alencon*, that dyed before his brother *Henry* the third; *Elizabeth*, the eldest daughter was married to *Philip* the second King of *Spaine*, who had *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, and *Elizabeth Eugenia* Archdutchesse of *Flanders*; *Claude* was married to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Margaret* was married to *Henry* the fourth, of the House of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, that was afterwards King of *France*, as next heire by the Masculine line; so that the Crowne of *France* had then fallen, but for the Salique law, into the *Spaniards* hands, by the right of *Isabell Eugenia*, or to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by the right of his wife *Claude*. 2. For the incroachers of the *French* Liberties, *Charles* the seventh was the first, and that more by accident, then wittingly: for during his reigne, the three Estates of *France* could not be summoned, because of the cruell warres between the *English* and the *French*, by whom all taxes and contributions imposed upon the people, that were formerly of no compulsive power without the assent and confirmations of the three Estates, were then raised upon the Kings Edicts, because the three Estates could not then be assembled, for the *English* and *Bourginons* Armies that did then over-runne many parts of *France*:

And

See *Givard du Haylan*, &c the *Inventorie* of *France*.

And so the *French King* tooke upon him to impose them of his owne Authority, and here began the *French Edicts* to take place. And *Lewis* the eleventh, sonne to the said *Charles*, a most subtile Prince, made great use of this opportunity, and imposed what taxes he pleased upon his subjects, untill the Court of Parliament of *Paris* did oppose courageously his Edicts, as it will be shewed in the Chapter of the duty of Magistrates; and *Charles* the eighth his son, followed his steps, which was commived at, because of the great warre he waged in the Kingdome of *Naples*. But *Lewis* the twelfth, a wise and just Prince, that succeeded him, by the right also of the *Salique* law, for he was but his Cousen *Germaine*, did not follow the steps of the said Princes, but would impose no extraordinary taxes upon his subjects, without the assent of the three Estates; and that rarely, although he maintained great warres in *Italy* all the dayes of his life; by which moderation the Kingdome of *France* flourished in his time. This *Lewis* had also no male issue by *Anna* Dutchesse of *Brittaine*, but one daughter, and knowing that she should be excluded by the *Salique* law of the Crowne, and that his Cousen *Francis de Valois*, and Duke of *Angoulême* should succeed him, he married her to the said Duke, by which marriage, the large and rich Dutchie of *Brittaine* was annexed to the Crown of *France*; This King by meanes of the great warres he had against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and against *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, was enforced in some sort to follow the steps of *Lewis* the eleventh, yet with more moderation; but *Henry* the second, his son, by his prodigality, and free hearted disposition, did greatly increase the burden of his subjects, and so did his three sonnes, *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, which *Henry* the fourth was also enforced to continue to pay his debts; and *Lewis* the thirteenth followed his steps, because of the continuall warres he had in *Italy*, *Catalonia*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, and therefore it is no wonder, that the *French* subjects are so poore, and over-burdened with taxes. For *Lewis* the eleventh, called the Foxe, or great Politician, did cunningly exempt all the *French Nobility*, and laid all the burden upon the *Peasantry*; for he knew that the Nobility are the very colomnes of a Monarchy, and that it was impossible for him to become an absolute Prince, if he did oppress the Nobility: for had he imposed such taxes upon the Nobility, as he had upon the *Peasantry*, a generall rebellion had happened, by which he had been endangered to lose his Crowne. And that is the reason that the *French Nobility* is yet at this day as free as any Nobility in Christendome: for they pay no taxes at all, and only serve the King in

or *Turbulant*. 2. *Philip* the fifth, called the *Long*. 3. *Charles* the fourth, called *Le Bel*, a wise and prudent Prince. These three brethren were all Kings of *France* one after another; *Lewis* the eldest left a daughter called *Jane*, that was excluded from the Crowne, and her Uncle *Philip* crowned by the generall assent of the three Estates of *France*; and this *Philip* left foure daughters, that were also deprived of the Crowne, and their Uncle *Charles* the fourth chosen King according to the Salique law; This *Charles* left two daughters, and his Queene with childe, whereupon the three Estates of *France* were summoned to appoint who should be Tutor, or Regent, if the Queene had a sonne: The competitors were *Edward* the third, King of *England*, right heire to the Crowne by his mothers right, according to other Nations, but debarred from it by the Salique law; and *Philip de Valois* Cousen *Germane* by the Masculine line, for his father *Charles*, Earle of *Valois* was brother to *Philip le Bel*, and son to *Philip* the third, called the *Hardy*, or the *Stout*. But by the unanimous consent of the three Estates of *France*, *Philip de Valois* was appointed to be Regent, if the Queene had a sonne, and King, if she had a daughter, according to the fundamentall Law of the Kingdome. 2. *Henry* the second, King of *France*, left foure sons, and five daughters, *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, who were all Kings of *France* one after another, and left no legitimate issue, and *Hercules* Duke d' *Alencon*, that dyed before his brother *Henry* the third; *Elizabeth*, the eldest daughter was married to *Philip* the second King of *Spaine*, who had *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, and *Elizabeth Eugenia* Archdutchesse of *Flanders*; *Claude* was married to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Margaret* was married to *Henry* the fourth, of the House of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, that was afterwards King of *France*, as next heire by the Masculine line; so that the Crowne of *France* had then fallen, but for the Salique law, into the *Spaniards* hands, by the right of *Isabell Eugenia*, or to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by the right of his wife *Claude*. 2. For the incroachers of the *French* Liberties, *Charles* the seventh was the first, and that more by accident, then wittingly: for during his reigne, the three Estates of *France* could not be summoned, becaule of the cruell warres between the *English* and the *French*, by whom all taxes and contributions imposed upon the people, that were formerly of no compulsive power without the assent and confirmations of the three Estates, were then raised upon the Kings Edicts, becaule the three Estates could not then be assembled, for the *English* and *Bourgeois* Armies that did then over-runne many parts of *France*:

And

See *Givard du Haylan*, &c. the *Inventorie* of *France*.

And so the *French King* tooke upon him to impose them of his owne Authority, and here began the *French Edicts* to take place. And *Lewis* the eleventh, sonne to the said *Charles*, a most subtile Prince, made great use of this opportunity, and imposed what taxes he pleased upon his subjects, untill the Court of Parliament of *Paris* did oppose courageously his Edicts, as it will be shewed in the Chapter of the duty of Magistrates; and *Charles* the eighth his son, followed his steps, which was connived at, because of the great warre he waged in the Kingdome of *Naples*. But *Lewis* the twelfth, a wise and just Prince, that succeeded him, by the right also of the *Salique law*, for he was but his Cousen *Germaine*, did not follow the steps of the said Princes, but would impose no extraordinary taxes upon his subjects, without the assent of the three Estates; and that rarely, although he maintained great warres in *Italy* all the dayes of his life; by which moderation the Kingdome of *France* flourished in his time. This *Lewis* had also no male issue by *Anna Dutchesse of Brittain*, but one daughter, and knowing that she should be excluded by the *Salique law* of the Crowne, and that his Cousen *Francis de Valois*, and Duke of *Angoulesme* should succeed him, he married her to the said Duke, by which marriage, the large and rich Dutchie of *Brittain* was annexed to the Crown of *France*; This King by meanes of the great warres he had against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and against *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, was enforced in some sort to follow the steps of *Lewis* the eleventh, yet with more moderation; but *Henry* the second, his son, by his prodigality, and free hearted disposition, did greatly increase the burden of his subjects, and so did his three sonnes, *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, which *Henry* the fourth was also enforced to continue to pay his debts; and *Lewis* the thirteenth followed his steps, because of the continuall warres he had in *Italy*, *Catalonia*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, and therefore it is no wonder, that the *French* peasants are so poore, and over-burdened with taxes. For *Lewis* the eleventh, called the Foxe, or great *Politician*, did cunningly exempt all the *French Nobility*, and laid all the burden upon the *Teomondry*; for he knew that the Nobility are the very colomnes of a Monarchy, and that it was impossible for him to become an absolute Prince, if he did oppress the Nobility: for had he imposed such taxes upon the Nobility, as he did upon the *Teomondry*, a generall rebellion had happened, by which he had been endangered to lose his Crowne. And that is the reason that the *French Nobility* is yet at this day as free as any Nobility in *Christendome*: for they pay no taxes at all, and only serve the King in

d See the
Inventory
of France
in his life.

his warres with a man and two horses for three moneths gratis, according to the first institution of the Monarchie. By which policie, and the Salique Law, the *French Monarchie* hath continued; as I have said before, longer then it had done, without these two maxims of State; for by their number and valour they have divers times preserved the Kingdom from ruine, and utter desolation, as it shall appeare by these instances. 1. *Merove* their third King, by the valour of the *French Nobilitie*, and the aid of *Artius*, Lieutenant of the Emperour *Valentinian* the 3^d. and of *Therry* King of the *Goths*, overthrew *Attila* King of the *Huns*, which was entred into *France* with an army of three hundred thousand men, and slew in one day one hundred and fourescore thousand of his Army. 2. *Abderame* King of the *Sarazins* having beene invited into *France* by *Euden* Duke of *Guienne*, or *Gascoigne*, came with an Army consisting of foure hundred thousand men, neare to the City of *Tours*, in intencion to subdue under his yoke the *French Nation*; but *Charles Martell* that was then high Constable of *France*, having summoned all the *French Nobility* to repaire to his Army, and reconciled himselfe with *Euden*, he overthrew the *Sarazins* in a pitch batraille, in which *Abderame* their King was slaine, and above three hundred thousand men, and especially by the valour and wise carriage of the Constable, and *French Nobility*. 3. By the valour of the *French Nobility*, *Charles* the seventh, King of *France*, did rescue his Kingdom out of the hands of the *English Nation*, in the dayes of *Henry* the sixth, King of *England*, as soone as the valiant Duke of *Bedford* and *Sommerset* were dead. 4. *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, did recover his Kingdom out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, and the Catholique Leaguers, by the valour of his Nobility, and drove away the Duke of *Parma*, with his great Army, in greater haste then he came in. And to shew that the *French Liberties* that remaine, and the power of the Kingdom, doth consist at this day in the *French Nobility*: I will relate a passage which fell out lately in the last end of *Lewis* the 13th. dayes. The said King having beene perswaded by his Court Projectors to impose a taxe of small concernment upon his Nobilitie, they unanimously protested against it, as being contrarie to their ancient privileges; and the *Spaniards* having notice of the discontent that was then between the King and his Nobilitie, came with a great Army into *Picardie*, and took many strong holds from the *French*; the King moved with this attempt, marched with a foot Army of some twentie thousand men, and two or three Regiments of Horse that he kept under his

own pay, & summoned all his Nobilitie to meet him at an appointed Rendezvous, as they were obliged by their Charter; but they absolutely refused to appear, because the King went about to infringe their Priviledges: The King at their answer was much incensed; whereupon the old Marshall de la Force drew the King apart, and in an humble manner told him, that those that perswaded him to impose the late Tax upon his Nobilitie, were Traitors to him and to the State, for it was the onely way to undo him and his whole Kingdome, by somenting discontents betweene him and his Nobilitie, that had beene from the beginning of the French Monarchie to that day the colonnes, and the supporters of it; and therefore did humbly beseech his Majestie, he would be pleased to repeale this Tax, and he would pawne his head, that before fiftene dayes come about, his Majestie should be attended with ten thousand Gentlemen, well armed, and well horsed, that would vindicate this Spanish affront. The King, as a wise Prince, gave him thanks for his Counsell, and embraced him, commending his loyalty, & caused immediately this Edict to be repealed, & charged that Courtiers should be sent with all speed in all his Provinces, to acquaint all his Nobilitie how he had been abused by Sycophants, who had perswaded and misinformed him in this case; and that he had now restored and confirmed them againe to their ancient Priviledges. Upon this report the Nobilitie from all parts repaired to his Army, so that within a fortnight he had to attend him above twelve thousand Gentlemen, well armed, and well horsed; by whose valour, and the aide of the foot souldiers, he recovered suddenly the holds the Spaniards had taken, and drove their army into Flanders, where they were pursued by the French Nobilitie to the gates of Brussels. 3. And lastly, concerning the few fragments that the French have left of their ancient liberties, are these, 1. The French Nobilitie are free, as it hath beene shewed, although the Yeomondry is kept under a hard servitude. 2. The Commons have this libertie, that none of them can be pressed to go to the Kings warres against their wills. 3. That all Edicts concerning Imposts and Taxes can have no compulsive power, except they are first ratified, and confirmed by the seven Courts of Parliaments of France, that are these, Paris, Rean, Reignes, Burdeaux, Toulouse, Grenoble, and Aix in Province; by which it appeares, that the French Monarchie is not yet altogether absolute. But as concerning the foure Priviledges belonging to the supreme power, they are absolutely in the King of France his hands, for he and his Priuy Counsell doth proclaime War, and conclude Peace; he nominates the chiefest Officers of the

Crowne,

See the memorable passages of the life of Lewis the thirteenth.

Crowne, whether they be Ecclesiasticall, Civill, or Militarie; he abrogates old Lawes and confirms new; onely they are to be ratified by the Courts of Parliament; and it is only he that can grant remissions or pardons to criminall offenders. And as for the three Estates, or *Le grand Jours*, in which the greatest Offices of the Crowne, were anciently convinced, condemned, and punished for their misdemeanors, they are at this day hardly summoned in a Kings raigne; So dangerous it is for a Nation to let it selfe be deprived of its ancient Liberties and Priviledges, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the English Monarchy.

England, the greatest and the richest Island in the Ocean Seas, was no sooner freed from the Roman yoke, but it was overrun by the Saxons, Danes, and Normands; an infallible signe of the richness of it, and of the fertility of the soile; for the large and barren plains of *Sythia*, and *Tartaria*, nor the steep and craggie mountains of *Switzerland* and *Wales* were never conquered by the Romans, because the penury of the Inhabitants, and the barrenness of the soile, had not been able to countervail the charges of the Conquest. But the rich and fertile Countries of *Greece*, *Thessalia*, *Armenia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Judea*, *Arabia*, *Felix*, *Barbarie*, *Numedia*, *Sicilia*, *Spain*, *France*, *Germanie*, and *England*, have been the prey of divers Nations. Now because the conquest of the Saxons and Danes, were full of mutations and changes, and their government rather an Oligarchy, then a well composed Monarchy; I will passe them over, and begin at *William* the Conqueror, who began his raige in the yeer of our Lord 1066. whereby it appears that the English Monarchy hath continued without mutation five hundred fourescore and two yeers, and from that time to this it hath been successiue and hereditarie, The propinquity of blood having been oftentimes preferred to the lineall descent, against the custome of *France* and other hereditary Kingdomes; for *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the first, did usurpe the lineall right of *Robert Courtois*; and *Stephen* did inchoach upon the lineall right of the Empress *Mauke*, and upon *Henry* the second her sonne; and *John*, upon the lineall descent of Prince *Arthur* Duke of *Brittain*; and *Henry* the fourth upon the lineall right of *Richard* the second, grandchilde to *Edward* the third, and son to *Edward* the black Prince; and then it came again into the lineall descent

*f See Speeds
Chronicle.*

in *Edward* the fourth, and overthrown by *Richard* the third, that deprived of their lineall right and life, his two hopefull Nephews; and then it came again into the lineall discent by the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, heir of the house of *Tork*, with *Henry* the seventh, Earle of *Richmond*, and heir of the house of *Lancaster*, and so to this day hath continued in a just lineall discent; so that the last race of the French Kings, is only three score and eighteen yeares more ancient then the race of the Kings of *England*, for *Hugues Capet*, the first King of the last race of the Kings of *France*, began his reign in the year of our Lord 988. and *William* the Conquerour began to reign in *England* in the year 1066. as it hath been shewed before.

g See the
Inventory
of France.

The English Monarchy was in the dayes of *William* the Conquerour under an imperious government, as it appears by the actions of his life, for he did rule by the power of the sword, and yet by the wisdom of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,^a *Stigand*, and the noble courage of *Eglesine* Abbot of *S. Augustine*, *Kent* was never conquered, but came to a capitulation with King *William*, who came of his own accord towards the latter end of his Reign, to be more moderate: And his son *William Rufus* being fallen sick, did promise to restore the *English* to their former Liberties, but being recovered, he returned to his imperious courses. *Henry* the first succeeding him did rule with more wisdom and moderation; and *Stephen*, the incroacher upon the right of the Empresse *Maud*, was enforced to capitulate with his Nobles and great Prelates, & by an Oath, to promise to restore the *English* to their ancient Laws and Liberties, but for want of performing the same, great contentions, and civill broiles arose between him and his Nobles and Prelates; and Empresse *Maud*, being by them invited over into *England*, her party grew so strong, that *Stephen* was taken prisoner, but at last released, for *Robert* natural brother to the Empresse *Maud*; and her son *Henry Fitz. Empriss* being come into *England*, an agreement was procured by the Nobles and Prelats, that *Stephen* should remain King for his life, and that *Henry* should succeed to the Crown. *Henry* the 2. the first of the *Plantagenets*, and son of the Empresse *Maud*, and of *Jessery* Duke of *Anjou*, by the marriage of *Elenor* Dutches of *Guienne* & *Aquitane*, became a great and potent Prince, for he was not only King of *England*, but also Duke of *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Aquitane*, *Brittain*, *Anjou*, *Main*, & *Tourain*, & at last Lord of *Ireland*; he was the first that did establish a Privy Council of the wisest Peers and Prelates of the Land; and did call a Parliament at *Clarendon* in *Wiltshire*, where the Laws called *Avines* were confirmed, and his second son *Henry* having by his Fathers procurement, been

b See Speed
in p. 421.

See p. 443.

admitted by the Clergy and Nobility as heir apparent to the Crown; and acknowledged as King of *England*; this division of the supreme power between the Father and the Son, was the cause of the civil broils that followed, which were fomented by the discontented Barons, and the Prelacy, and specially by the Imperious carriage of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: But the yonger *Henry* being deceased before his Father, *Henry* the second, a wise and valorous Prince, left the Crown to *Richard* the first, called *cœur de Lion*, for his valour and undaunted courage, who took upon him the title and power of King of

1 See Speed
468, 469.

England, before he was crowned, and before he came over into *England*; which confirms, that the kings are hereditary and successive, and not elective, as the subtle Archbishop of *Canterbury* *William Corbet* fained they were, at the Coronation of King *Stephen*, only to cover his perjury. This King *Richard* shewed great wisdom, in advancing all his Fathers Officers and servants that had been faithful to his Father, and in the cashiering of those that fomented the divisions between him

1 See Speed
p. 144.

and his Father, and as much Piety, by undertaking a voyage into the Holy Land, because he had been in his youth disobedient to his Father; he carried with him 1100000 pounds that had been hoarded up by his Father, and yet had great aides granted him by a Parliament held before his departure, and at his Coronation took an Oath to maintain the Clergy in their Priviledges, and his Subjects in their ancient Liberties, and to abrogate bad Laws, and to establish those that were good; and at his return from the holy Land, he obtained a great victory upon the French at the battell of *Gisors*, and was the first that added to the *English* Armes this Motto, *Dieu & mon Droit*, and was slain by a cross-bow Archer before *Chateau Gaillard*, in the Province of *Limoges*, in *France*, and King *John* his brother succeeded him, for he died without Issue, who was inforced to capitulate with his Barons and Clergy, and to grant them a Charter of their ancient Liberties; his reign was troublesome, and full of civil contentions, by the Imperious carriage of *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other factious Prelats, and some discontented Barons, by whom he was inforced, to the disgrace of himselfe, and of the whole Kingdom, to pay a yearly pension to the Pope, as if *England* had been a fee of the Roman Hierarchie; which carriage of his, did so incense the greatest part of the Nobility and Clergy, that they craved aid out of *France*, and so *Lewis* the *Dolphin* came over with a great Army; but King *John* having been perfidiously poisoned by a Fryer, *Lewis* and his French Army were dismissed, and sent back into *France*; and his sonne *Henry* the third succeeded him, who was di-

1 See Speed
p. 459.

vers times inforced to capitulate with his Subjects, and inforced to ratifie and confirm the Charters of their ancient Priviledges, and Liberties, by which means the Imperious Government of *England* was changed to a well composed Monarchie, of the Democracie, Aristocracie, and Monarchie Governments, and so hath continued ever since, only some Princes have indeavored in imitation of the *French* Kings, to bring the same by degrees to an absolute Monarchie; and had it not been for the courage and noble resolution of the Honourable Houses of Parliament, wee were Posting to it as hard as we could drive. The Government of *England* is then one of the best in Christendome: and it is not by any defect of it, that civill Contentions do raign among us at this day, but from our sins and ingratitude, and the impenitencie of the whole Nation, who have justly provoked the Lord to send the spirit of Division in the Land, and to permit the Prelates, and the Court Favorites, to bend the Treble of the instrument of the Common-weale higher then the Base: for all compsed Monarchies are like unto a musical Instrument, that can afford no melodie (although the Artist that plaies upon it be never so skilfull in his Art,) except the strings of it be turned alike. Now the Government of *England* being composed of the Democracie, Aristocracie, and Monarchie Governments, it is impossible the instrument of the Common-weale should yield a sweet harmony of peace, except every one of these (between whom the supreme power of the State is divided) enjoy their just prerogatives; for if the ballance be not kept in a just counterpoys, and do fall never so little toward any of these three, there will insue upon it, a mutation in the Government of the State, as it hath been shewn in the * Elective Monarchie, that is apt to fall into an Aristocracie, because the Nobles at every new Election do anticipate upon the royall prerogatives, and as it hath been proved, in the 7 last Chapter, where *Lewis* the eleventh inroached purposely upon the liberties and priviledges of the *French* Yeomondry, to reduce the *French* Nation under an absolute Monarchie. And *Henry* the seventh out of a contrarie policie, began in his dayes to give the swing of the balance unto the *English* Yeomondrie, for he brought his Nobility low, and raised the Yeomondry; so that the *English* Monarchie inclines rather at this present to fall into a Democracie, then to an absolute Monarchie, or to an Aristocracie; because the greatest power of the Kingdom, is at this instant in the hands of the Yeomondrie. The motives that induced *Henry* the seventh (held to be by the best Authors a wise and politick Prince) to this contrary course, to the ap-

* See chap. 2.

See chap. 11.

See *Stow* and *Speed* in his life.

* See *Stow* and *Speed* in *Henry* the seventh his life.

proved Maximes of the upholders of Monarchies, might be these;
 1. He had observed in the Historie of *England*, that the Civill Broiles
 wherewith this Kingdome had been grievously afflicted in the reign of

b See the
 reign of
Stephen,
John, and
Henry the
 third.

2. That in all Civill divisions, the discontented Barons became the heads of Parties. 3. That the Nobles are naturally more ambitious, and apt to foment civill dissensions, then the Yeomondry. But these motives were weak, in comparision of those alleaged by

c See *Bodin*
 and
Contarini
 in their
 Com-
 mon-weal.

the Promoters of the Monarchicall Government. 1. That the Nobility are the very Colommes of a Monarchie, and that this Proverb is more like to be true, no Nobility, no King; then this other, no Bishop, no King: for the *French* and *English* Histories do justifie, that the *French* and *English* Nobility were never so adverse to the Royall Authority as the *English* and *French* Prelacie: and the civill contentions that happened in *England* in the dayes of the fore-named Kings, were first hatched in the ambitious braines of the great Prelates of *England*,

2. It is an easie thing for a prudent Prince to hinder his Barons to become heads of parties, by making of them chief Commanders of his Armies in forraign Wars, and chief Officers of the Crown; for the onely means to keep a Kingdome in peace at home, is to maintain a forraign War abroad. This Maxime was successfull in th dayes of *Edward*

d See the
 chronicles
 of *Eng-
 land*.

the first, *Edward* the 3. and *Henry* the 5. Kings of *England*; and in the reigns of *Henry* the 4. and *Lewis* the 13. Kings of *France*; for the *English* and *French* Nobility had such employments abroad, that they had no

e See the
 Historie of
France, and
Peter *Mat-
 thew*.

leisure to become the heads of parties at home. And *England* nor *France* did never more enlarge their Dominions, nor never were more feared nor honoured then in these Kings reigns, but contrariwise, *France* was rent asunder, wasted, and almost destroyed by the pusillanimity of *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth & *Henry* the third, Kings of *France*, by civill divisions, because the great Peers and Nobility had no employments abroad. And the Kingdom of *England* was rent, and consumed by civill Broils, in the dayes of *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the sixth, because the *English* Barons and Nobility had no employment in forraign Wars: And by this onely policie, did Queen

f See the
 life of *Q.
 Elizabeth*.

Elizabeth maintain this Kingdom in a flourishing peace, by the training of her Nobility in the *Netherland* Wars, and by employment of them in the sea voyages of the *Assores*, *Portugals*, *Cadiss*, and the *East* and *West-Indies*, by which meanes the Kingdom of *England* became rich, and the

English

English Nation famous in all parts of the world. 3. I acknowledge that the Yeomondry are more timorous and fearfull to attempt perilous enterprises, then the Nobles; but they have also lesse discretion, for when they are moved, they are like unto a rapid Torrent, that doth overthrow his banks, so that no Reasons or Arguments, be they never so good, will keep them in obedience; it is therefore the safer of the two, for a Prince, to let the power of a State consist in the Nobility, g See Bodin and Comarini in their Common-wealths. then in the Yeomondry; for at the worst, the Monarchical Government can only be changed into an Aristocracie; but if the Yeomondry hath the power in its hands, its apt to fall into a Democracie, and then to an imperious Monarchie, or into a confused Anarchie, that is, to have no Government at all. But as I have said before, in all composed Governments, the parties between whom the supreme power of the State is divided, are to be kept in an equall counterpoys and power.

Lastly, The *English* Monarchie, as well as *France* and other Kingdomes, hath had its increase, full growth, decay, and restaurations, 1. From *William* the Conquerors time it increased till *Henry* the second, for as I have said, the said *Henry* was a potent Prince; for besides *England* and *Ireland*, he had seven of the best Provinces of *France*, which did truly appertain to him by right of inheritance, the homage only excepted, and the revenue of these did far excell the revenues that *Scotland* afforded at this day, but it fell to decay in *Richard* the first, and king *John*, and came to so low an ebbe, that *Henry* the third did resign the right of his transmarine Dominions to the *French* King for a trifle. Then it increased by the valour of *Edward* the first his son, and then decayed again under his son *Edward* the 2. and was restored in *Edward* the third his dayes, for he was the first of the *English* Kings that enriched his Arms with the three *French* floure de Lucies; and then it declined again in the dayes of *Richard* the second, and came to its greatest extent and glory in the reign of *Henry* the fifth, and by the civill Wars of *England*, came to its lowest ebbe in the dayes of *Henry* the sixth, and then revived a little in the dayes of *Edward* the fourth, and was rent again asunder by the ambition of *Richard* the third, and then restored by the wisdom of *Henry* the seventh, and maintained by the valour of *Henry* the 8. and diminished of *Calice* and *Guinner* in *Q. Maries* dayes, and restored into a flourishing condition by the wisdom, policy, and piety, and the moderate Government of *Queen Elizabeth*, & increased by the succession of King *James*, and now brought into a lower and more despised condition then ever it was since the Conquest, by our manifold

b See Speed and Stow in their raignes.

i See Speed and Stow in their raignes.

k See the life of *Q. Elizabeth*.

Transgressions, and our late unnaturall war, and civill Divisions: Yet God who hath hitherto been the Protector of it, will undoubtedly upon our Repentance and amendment, restore the same in due time to its former Glory, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Militarie Government in Generall.

l See Livius Decade 3. 4. 5. and Tacitus Annals.

m See Tacitus l. 1. cap 5.

n See Plutarch in the life of Sylla. and Tacitus in the life of Nero. o Luke 3. 14.

THe supreme Power of the Military Government is intrusted by the Prince, or the State, into the hands of one or two Generals of Armies, according to the extent of the¹ Monarchie or State; they are alwayes to be subordnary to that civil power that gave them their Commission, and raised their forces, and paid them; for otherwise they trample under their feet the Law of God, of nature, and of Arms; this Government is usefull at all times, and specially in the time of civil divisions, to strengthen the power of the civill Authority, that is commonly despised in the dayes of civill distractions: But the number of the men of war is to be regulated, and proportionable to the yearly revenues of the State, that their pay may not be grievous to the people, nor exceed their abilities, for otherwise those that were raised for the preservation of the State, will be the overthrow of it: and nothing is more dangerous to a State, then to be^m indebted to men of War, for the Arrears due to an Army, are the common pretext of all mutinies: And because the Romans have excelled all other Nations in the Militarie Government, my observations shall specially be taken out of their Authors: this Government is to be severe, for indulgencie is incompatible with it, and many great Commanders have lost their honour, and have overthrown themselves and their Armies by their lenity, Asⁿ *Symbria* did in the dayes of *Sylla*, and *Petus* in the dayes of *Nero*. But because some in these dayes maintain the profession of Armes to be unlawfull, I will prove that they are mistaken: First, It is warantable by the Law of God. Secondly, Of Nature. Thirdly, Of Men. 1. By the Law of God, If they observe this precept of^o Saint *Iohn Baptist*, *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, but be contented with your wages.* 2. By the Law of Nature, because men are allowed by it, to defend their lives and liberties by force of Arms. 3. By humane Lawes, for the Military Government hath been established in all Common-wealths, as well as the Ecclesiasticall and the Civill. I acknowledge the profession of Armes may be abused, as well as all other things that are good, but it comes by accident, and

by the Ambition of men; and that is, when the Commanders in chiefe of some Armies that have been raised for the enlargement, or defence of a State, doth make use of this Army, to overthrow the Liberties of their native countrey, and to make themselves imperious Monarches over their Superiours, as *Cæsar*, and divers others have done. But otherwise the profession of Armes, when it is exercised for the defence of the true worship of God, and of our Countrey and Liberties, it is as honourable as any other, and the very first step to honour and preferment; for according to *Charon*, personall Nobilitie obtained by valour in the field, is to be preferred before the lineall Nobility, or that which is purchased by Gold or Silver: To be nobly descended, and be as noble and valourous as our Ancestors from whom our Nobility was derived, is to be truly noble; but to degenerate from the valour of our Predecessors, and boast only upon our descent, when we are our selves vicious and timorous, this is to be ignominiously Noble: And to this purpose *Mariss* that was of a *Plebeian* familie, and yet had been seven times Consul of *Rome*, replied ingenuously to a vicious Patrician, that did out bray him for his mean descent, My Nobilitie begins with me, and thine doth end by thee. But to return where I left, No Common-weale can subsist without the Military Government, and the Profession of Armes; whether it be to defend, or enlarge it self; and those that have been most skilfull in the Art of War, have above all other made themselves famous, and obtained the Superiority over others. For instance, The *Lacedemonians* who had but small demaines, and were but a little Common-wealth, did by their valour, and continuall practise in Armes, obtain the Sovereignty over all the Common-weale of *Greece*: And the *Romans* that were at the first but a small and contemptible Common-weale, by their constant exercise in Armes, did not only subdue all *Italie*, but reduced under their yoke the greater part of the world. And the *Switzers* and *Grisons* that were a 140 years past but a poor and despised Nation, have not only freed themselves from the servitude of the house of *Austria*, but have enriched, and made themselves famous by their constant practise in Armes. And the *Hollanders* that groaned fourscore years ago under the cruell servitude of the King of *Spain*, have not only freed themselves from the *Spanish* Yoke, but are now become the Great and Mighty States of the United Provinces. Now sith the Military Government is so profitable to Common-weals, so it be kept under an Austere Discipline: I will make a brief description of it, to induce our men of War to be more obedient to their

¶ See *Cæsar's* Commentaries.

¶ See *Charon* in his wisdom, in the Chap. of true Nobility.

¶ See *Plutarch* in *Mariss* life

¶ See *Tacitus* in the *Pellagonian* War.
¶ See *Sleidan* & the *Netherland* Historie.

their Generall and chiefe Officers, then some of them have beene lately.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Quartering of men of War.

IT may be collected out of *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and other *Roman* Authours, that in the dayes of the Emperour *Augustus*, and *Tiberius* *Nero*, the *Roman* Empire was kept under subjection by fourty legions; every legion consisting, when it was compleat, of sixe thousand foot, and of sixe hundred horse, which were thus quartered, for the greater safety, and ease of the Empire. In *Asia* they kept eight legions, foure upon the borders of the River *Eufrates*. and foure in *Egypt* and *Syria*. And in *Africa* they kept eight, foure upon the utmost borders of *Numidia*, and foure along the sea coast; And in the lower *Germany*, and in *France* eight legions; and in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Istria*, and *Esclavonia*, eight; And in *Spain* foure; and *England* thre; and at *Rome* one, called the *Prætorian* legion, that was the Emperours guard; and all these make the just number of fourty. The reasons why they were quartered after this manner, are these. 1. To keepe the Center of the Empire in peace, and the City of *Rome* out of danger, if any mutinies should happen in their Armies; for had they not observed this order, the City of *Rome* had undoubtedly sundry times beene sacked by their mutinous Armies. when the *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* legions did mutinie in the dayes of *Tiberius* the Emperour; and when those of *France* and *Germany* did mutinie under *Germanicus* their Generall; but they being so farre from *Rome*, could not suddainly come to do the mischief, they would otherwike have done, if they had beene nearer. 2. Because they would not billow their Armies neare unto any populous City, to prevent the inconveniencies that issue from it, but made them lye all winter in the fields in an intrenched Camp; for it is commonly the overthrow of an Army, if it be billowed within, or neare unto a great City. For instance, After *Alexander* the great had overcome *Darius* King of *Persia*, he did billow his Army round about the great City of *Babylon*, but it became so lascivious and mutinous in a short time, that he was enforced to send the same into the barren Counties of the upper *Asia*; and yet the next Summer when he went into the *East-Indies*, he had much ado to reduce them againe to their former discipline; so much were they degenerated from their precedent valour. And the billowing of the victorious Army

n See *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*.

x See *Tacitus* lib. 1. cap. 5. 8.

y See *Quintus Curtius* in the life of *Alexander*.

of *Hannibal* after the battel of *Cannes*, in the lascivious City of *Capona*, & See Li-
 was the cause of the utter overthrow of *Hannibal* himselfe, and of his
 whole Army; for they became so effeminate, that they could not after-
 wards be reduced to their former discipline, nor endure the wearisome
 duties of warre. 3. It is the overthrow of the City, as well as of the
 Army, to billate men of warre within twenty miles of it; for it decaies
 trading, and produceth dearth and famine, breeds seditions, and tu-
 mults, and increased the naturall spleen and animosity, that is common-
 ly between Citizens and souldiers, and disable the Inhabitants to contri-
 bute chearefully to the charges of the warre. 4. It breeds sloath and se-
 curity, and makes souldiers to neglect their military duties; but when
 they are billated neare unto the enemy, it makes them hardy, watchfull,
 and active, and ready upon the first attempt of the enemies, to drive
 them back into their owne quarters; besides, if an Army be billated in
 the Center of a Kingdome, the enemy may ransacke the borders by in-
 cursions, and burne and waste the Countries, and carry away great
 booties of all manner of cattell, and yet withdraw themselves into
 their garrisons, before the Army can come to vindicate these dammages,
 and affronts; and the very march of the Army will be as destructive to
 the Kingdome, as the enemies incursions. It is therefore against the
 rule and Maxims of warre to billate an Army neare a great City, or in
 the Center of a Kingdome, &c.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Militarie Punishments.

Punishments for neglect of military duties, or evil actions, are whole-
 some remedies to cure disorders, and to restrain licentious souldiers
 from their imperious and insolent courses, and make them more obedi-
 ent to their chiefe Commanders and officers; I will therefore relate
 the military punishments practised by the ancient *Romans*. 1. Those
 that did turne their backs in the day of battell to their enemies, were
 divided by tens, and upon whomsoever the lot fell, they were shot to
 death; And they were so strict in the observation of this punishment,
 that when they were inforced for want of men to enroll their slaves,
 they did refuse to redeeme two thousand of their Citizens, that had
 been taken by *Hannibal* in their intrenched Camp, after the battell of
Cannes, although *Hannibal* had set but a small rancome upon their heads,
 because they had not endeavoured to save themselves with their Armes,
 with

a See Livine
 3. Decade
 lib. 2. from
 pag. 162. to
 pag. 176.

with *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who brake through *Hannibal's* Army in the night, with seven hundred men, that he had ranged in a battallion after the forme of a wedge; And the ten thousand that saved themselves by flight from the same battell, were all banished into *Syrcilia*, and condemned to serve in the warres ten yeares longer then was appointed by the *Romane* Lawes. 2. All souldiers that durst presume to lye out of the *Romane* intrenched Camp, except they had obtained a warrant of their Captaine, were shot to death. 3. If any souldier was found sleeping, being placed in a Centery, it was lawfull for the chiefe Officer of the Round to run him through with his javeline. 4. Whosoever did fight against the enemy, having been prohibited by the Generall, was put to death in his presence. 5. All rapes and violations of Virgins and women, were also punished with death. 6. Disobedience, filching, and felony, and slowness in military duties, and many other misdemeanors were punished by the Centurions, or Captaines, sometimes by stripes upon their naked shoulders and backs, and sometimes they were banished out of the Camp, and enforced to lye in the fields, and to feed upon barley bread instead of wheat, untill they had blotted out their ignominy by some valiant action; and when they fell three times in these petty offences, then they were utterly cashiered. But none could be condemned to death for any crime, before he had been convinced of it before the Generall, and his Councell of warre; And the Generall only was to pronounce his sentence of death, but for all other crimes that were not mortall, the punishment of them were referred to the Colonels, and Captaines. *La Noue* also in his politick and military discourses, relates that the *French* Admirall, *de Chatillon*, in the first civill warres of *France* did punish severely all such souldiers as took any thing away from the people by violence, and those that did presume to live upon free quarter; and that there was a *French* Gentleman, of a great and noble Family, condemned by him, and his Councell of warre, to lose his head, because he had ravished the daughter of his hostesse. And *Tamburlaine* the great, caused one of his souldiers to be ripped up alive, because he had taken away by violence a drawth of milke from a countrey maide; nay the very greatest Tyrant of the *Turkish* Emperours kept so strict a military discipline in his Army, that the fruits that were at that time ripe in the Orchards and Gardens of the City of *Damascus*, were preserved, and untouched, although his Army was billeted in most of them, and round about the City, because he had given speciall charge they should be preserved; by these instances, it appears how profitable it is to observe a strict military discipline, &c.

b See Livius 1. Decad. lib. 7.

c See Livius in his 2. 3. Decades.

d See Tacitus, lib. 1. cap. 5, 6.

e See La Noue in his Militarie discourses presently after the battell of St. Denis, f See the Turkish History in Bajazet the 1. g See Syllima life in the Turkish History.

Of the Militarie Remunerations.

AS Military punishments serve to bridle and curbe the licentious souldiers, even so rewards doth inflame the courage of valarous spirits, to attempt hard and dangerous actions, in hope of honour and preferment; And as the *Romanes* were strict in their punishments, so were they constant and liberall in their remunerations. 1. If a *Romane* souldier had carried himselfe valiently in a fight, ^b skirmish, battell, or assault, he was at his returne in the Camp, praised for his valour by the Generall, in the presence of all the chiefe Officers of the Army. 2. He that had wounded an enemy in a single fight, had a gilt dart given him by the Generall. 3. He that slew an enemy in single fight, had his apparell and armes, but if it were a horseman he had his horse, apparell and armes, and besides a rich armour given him by the Generall. 4. He that did first of all get upon the rampire of the enemies Camp, or of a besieged Garrison, had a Crowne of silver, called ⁱ *murale*, given him by the Generall. 5. He that did rescue in a fight a *Romane* Citizen, had a Crown of gold called *civique* given him by the Generall, that was set upon his head by the Citizen who had been rescued, who was bound all the dayes of his life to honour and reverence him as his father. 6. All Commanders in chiefe that did obtaine some famous victory against the enemy, or did subdue some Province or Kingdome under the *Romane* yoke, were honoured with rich and stately triumphs, according as their victory deserved; If it were but small, they had a triumph called ^b *Ovation*, and in that they came into the City on horseback, some of their Army marching triumphantly before, and the other part behinde them, crowned with lawrels of bayes; but if it were great, then they came in upon a gilded Chariot, drawn by four white horses, all their captives following the same, and all the Treasures of gold, silver, hangings, armes, figures of marble, and rare pictures were carried before their Chariot; and the models of all the Cities they had taken in that warre, were represented to the life, and carried as our Pagets before them; then came their Army, horse and foot, some in the Front, and some in the Reare, all crowned with Lawrels; And these shewes were so stately and so great, that sometimes they were two or three dayes a passing through the City; to the sight of which, all the Inhabitants of the adjacent Cities, Towns, and Villages did resort; and this was called the great, or Imperiall Triumph. And these Remunerations, and publique honours, induced the men of warre to expose themselves

^b See Livy in his 1, 2, 3 and 4 Decade.

ⁱ See the Perfect Capitaine.

^b See Plutarch in Paulus & Emissus life, and divers other Roman Commanders.

1 See Livy
m. 1. De-
cade lib. 2.

to all manner of dangers, for the service of the *Romane* Commonwealth; and moved many to cast away their lives for the welfare of their Country, as did *Horatius Cocles*, who defended the City against the whole Army of King *Porfena*, and caused the bridge where he stood to be broken behinde him, and that being done, flung himselfe into the river, and saved himselfe; and as *Mutius* did, who having undertaken to kill *Porfena*, to free his Country from a dangerous war; (but having killed a Noble man in his stead) did burne his own hand before the King, to make him beleeve that there were many other *Romans* in his Camp as

m See Levi-
m. 1. De-
cade lib. 8.

valarous as he, that had vowed to kill him, if he did not conclude a peace with the *Romans*. And as *P. Decius* did, who cast himselfe in the midst of the battell of his enemies, to procure the victory for his Country; and many other such like instances, that could be produced, to prove that the *Romans* to obtaine honour, did cast away their lives for the service of their Country. And the *Germane* History doth afford a notable instance to prove, that remuneration and honour induced men to cast away their lives for the honour and safety of their Prince and Country. *Solyman* the great having besieged *Vienna*, promised a great reward to him that should plant his standard upon the high Bastion, that defends the *Danubia* gate; a *Turkish* Jannizary undertook it, and did performe it, but a *Germane* souldier considering that the City would be lost, if this souldier and standard were not throwne downe, did grapple them both, and threw himselfe and the *Turke* with his standard downe the Bastion, and with the fall were both slaine. It may then be observed, that remuneration and honour doth make men expose themselves to all dangers for the services of their Countries, &c.

n See the
siedge of
Vienna in
the dayes
of *Solyman*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Military Exercises, and War-like Employments.

a See the
Posse
Captain.

AS bodily exercises keepe men in health, even so Militarie employments keeps souldiers in obedience, and gives them no leasure to become vicious and mutinous; for idleneffe is the mother of vice, disobedience, and rebellion. And this is the reason why the *Romane* Commanders were so carefull to keep their Armies busie and in action in the Winter time, when they had no enemies in the field to oppose. 1. They caused them to intrench, and cast up the rampires of their Winter Camp, and to turffe them within and without as neatly as the best fortifications that are at this day in *Holland*; and when their Camp was finished. 2. They would

would cause them to draine marshes, and dig great deepe and broad
 'channells, to bring by water their ammunitions and provisions to their
 Camp, with more ease, and lesse charge; and to encourage their souldiers
 to be constant and cheerfull in these works, they would over and above
 their weekly pay, give them the Tolls paid by the Barges and Barks
 that came up upon these Channells. 3. They would imploy them in the
 erecting of wooden and stone bridges over great rivers, to crosse o-
 ver their Army without charge and dangers; as *Caesar* caused divers to
 be erected over the *Rhine*, and other rivers in *France*; among the
 most famous that is standing at this day, is *Le pont du gatt in Lanque-*
deck, that is, builded with three double rowes of Arches one a top
 of another; and upon the uppermost, there was an excellent spring
 of water conveyed from one mountaine to another over a great
 river; and for their Channells, there is two of them extant at
 this day, one to bring a river called *La moselle*, which runneth by *Mets*
 in *France*, to fall into the *Rhine* at *Newmega* in the Low-countries, and
 another neare *Arnam* in *Guelder-land*. 4. When they had no such Im-
 ployments, they caused their Armies to exercise themselves, as *Publius*
Scipio did, when he was at *New Carthage* in *Spaine*, staying for a winde
 to passe over into *Affrica*, after this manner; The first day the foot legi-
 ons did runne in their armes foure miles, and the horse men eight miles;
 The second day they were commanded to sharpen their speares, and to
 skoure their armes at the doores of their Tents. The third day they were
 divided into two equall battalions, and ranged in 'battaile array, fight-
 ing one against the other with blunt weapons; And the fourth day the
 whole army was commanded to take their rest; and the fifth day to
 beginne and continue as they did before; and that day that their Land-
 army was to rest, the Navie went out to sea, and the Ships and Gallies
 were divided into two squadrons, and rowed up, and grapled one with
 the other, and fought as if it had been in earnest, but all with blunt
 weapons; and towards night they came into the Haven, and so they
 continued untill they had a favourable winde to crosse into *Affrica*;
 And the Emperour *Septimus Severus*, to keep his Army in action, after
 he had subdued the *Pits*, caused them to erect in the North parts of
England a wall or rampire with towers and gates to prevent the in-
 cursions of the *Pits*. By these instances it may be observed; That the
 only way to keep an Army in obedience, and free from mutinies, is to
 employ the same about such necessary and honorable employments, or to
 exercise them in their military discipline; for ease and rest is the over-
 throw of all Armies, &c.

See *Phar-*
larch in
Marius
life.

See *Ca-*
sar Com-
mentaries
 in the wars
 of *Gaul*.

See the
Antiquities
 of *France*.

See *Thuc-*
Livius iii.
 3. Decade
 lib. 6. to-
 wards the
 later end.

See *He-*
Adrian and
Speke.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Mutinies, and how they may be suppressed.

Princes and States that will be obeyed by their men of war, are to be carefull of their pay, for want of pay is the common pretext of mutinous Armies; and few Princes are so well beloved of their Souldiers as *Cesar* and *Henry* the fourth King of *France* were, for they maintained war without money, and yet had no mutinies in their Armies, and the last did not say without cause, that he was a King without a Kingdome, and a married man without a wife, and made war without money; three Riddles, or Paradoxes, and yet they were true: To prove then that mutinies are as dangerous as fire, if they be not suddenly quenched; I will relate some evill events hapned by the mutinies of Souldiers, who had no other colour but want of pay.

1. The two great Mutinies that fell out in the dayes of the Emperour *Tiberius* in *Pannonia*, and in the lower *Germany*, among the *Romane* legions, that made the very foundations of the *Roman* Empire to shake, did proceed from Idleness, and want of pay.

2. The only cause that overthrew the warlike expeditions of *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and in the Dutchie of *Milan*, came by want of pay; the French Treasurers having imbezled away the Kings Revenues, that had been appointed by him to pay his *Switzers*, and *Lands-Knights*.

3. The only cause of the taking of *Francis* the first King of *France* prisoner, and of the routing of his Army by the Spaniards at the battel of *Pavia*, was for want of the *Switzers* pay, that forsook him that very morning, whereby the French Horse were foiled, being disappointed of 5000 *Switzers* that were to support them.

4. *Pest*, a strong garrison in *Hungaria* was delivered up in the dayes of the Emperour *Rudolphus*, into the hands of the *Turks*, because the Garrison souldiers had no pay in one yeer and a halfe time. And the great mutiny that hapned among the old *Spanish* Souldiers, in the daies of the Archduke *Matthias*, which did excessively trouble that Prince, did proceed from want of pay. It is therefore more wisdome and policie for a Prince, or a State, to keep a smaller number of men of War, and to pay them duely, then a supernumerary multitude ill paid, that eat and consume a State by free quarter; for let a Generall be never so austere, prudent, and wise, it is impossible for him to keep an Army in its due obedience, and without mutinies, if it want its pay: But because mutinies are to

See *Cæsar* his Commentaries, and *Pet. Mab.* in *Henry* the fourths life

See *Yacini* lib. 1. from cap. 5 to c. 8.

See *Guichardin*, and *Du Baily* his Commentaries.

See *Du Baily* and *Guichardin*.

See the History of *Germany*.

See *Dumestres* in his History of the *Netherlands*.

be suppressed with much wisdom and moderation, and not rashly, nor with too much cruelty, as that was in the lower *Germany* in *Tiberius* daies. I will make the relation of one that fell out in *Spain*, under *Publius Scipio*, Generall of the *Roman* Forces of that Province, that deserves imitation, for the wise politique, and just suppression of it. *Publius Scipio* being fallen sick at *New Carthage*, having two Armies upon his hands, the greatest of them being billated about *Carthage*, and the other consisting of ten thousand men, that had been long Idle, and without employment, quartering in their winter camp, neer to the River *Sucro*; this last being informed that their General was sick, began to mutinie, under colour of want of pay, and yet as *Livius* records, their Arrears were but small. 1. They began to refuse the commands of their Officers. 2. They jeered and flouted them, saying in derision, are the warres in *Spain* at an end or no? If they are, why doe not you pay us our Arrears, and give us leave to return home; but if it be not, why are we not brought forth to goe against our enemies, and so neglected their Military duties, and went without leave, ranging abroad, pillaging the Country people, contrary to the rules and discipline of war; but when they heard that their General grew worse, and out of hope of recovery, then they rose all in a furious Mutiny, and displaced their Colonels, Captains, and Lieutenants, and after they had disarmed them, drove them out of the Camp, and elected for their two chief Commanders, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, two of the most seditious common Souldiers among them, causing the Axes and Rods, which were the badges of the supream Authority, to be carried before them: By whose Order a Councel of War was chosen of the most factious, where it was resolved, that as soon as their Carriages could be made ready, they would take the Field, and plunder all the Towns and Villages that were on this side the River of *Ebro* for their pay, and the recompence they expected from the Senate, for their former services. But when the News of this geneall mutiny was brought by the cashiered Commanders to *Scipio*, who was then upon his recovery, he sent seven of his confident Commanders to their Camp, with order to appease this mutiny by the most gentle meanes it was possible; and they being come to the mutinous Army, dispersed themselves in divers places of the Camp, in the Tents of some of their familiar acquaintance, and after a gentle manner desired to be informed of the causes of this uproar; The Mutineers told them, that it was for want of their pay, and also for a reward of their former services, for they were the men that preserved

Tacitus
L. 1. c. 8.

d See *Livius*
ur 3 decade
lib. 8.

e See Li-
vius 3. De
cale. l. 8.
from pag.
123. to
page 602.

ved *Spain* in that condition as their Generall had found it; after the *Roman Army*, and his Father, and his Uncle, the two *Scipio's* had been routed; and slain by *Asdruball* Gen. of the *Carthagenians*. These Commanders, faining to approve of their reasons, told them, that the Generall was resolved they should speedily receive their pay, and that he did intend to write in their behalf unto the *Senate*, to procure them an honourable reward for their former services, and that they should do well to send Commissioners along with them, that they might bring back a positive answer from the Generall; hereupon Commissioners were appointed by the two chief Rebels, and their Counsell of War, and being arrived at *Carthage*, delivered their message to *Scipio*, who seemed also to be well satisfied with their demands, and gave them charge to return this answer unto the Army, that he was ready to pay them their Arrears, and to write to the *Senate* about their pretended reward, and that they should come to *Carthage* to receive their Arrears one Regiment after another, or in a whole body, as they would themselves; this answer being come to the Camp, it took all suspicion away from the chiefest Rebels; conceiving, that since it was referred to their choise to come by severall Regiments, or in a whole body, that their generall anger was past, and concluded to go all without their Armes, and only with their swords by their sides, & so set forwards, leaving one companie to guard their Camp; *Scipio* being informed of their coming, borrowed as much money as would pay their Arrears; and caused a Proclamation to be published, that the Army that was Billated in and about *Carthage*, should march against the enemy the next morning, with a secret command to the chiefe Commanders, that as soon as the mutineers should be entred into the City, they should cause their Army to return, & to secure the Gates & Rampires of the City; and besides, gave Order to those Commanders, that he had formerly sent to the mutineers, that they should go out of Town to meet them, and under colour of courtesie, to bring the chiefest Rebels in the best Inns of the City. that in the night they might be shackled with irons, and carried to prison: all this being punctually performed, after all the mutineers were entred the City, and had taken up their lodging, the chiefest Actors were carried at midnight to prison without noife, the rest being ignorant of it. And a Councell of War being called, it was debated, what punishment should be inflicted upon these Mutineers, the pluralitie of voices stood, to have them all cut in peeces the next day by the Loyall Army; but *Scipio* opposed the same, as too cruell a sentence, and said, it would suffice if the chiefest

chiefest Authors of it were put to death in the presence of both the Armies, to be a president for time to come of his Justice and Clemencie. And according to this resolution, it was proclaimed in the morning that all the Mutineers, upon paine of death should appeare in the great Market place, without swords, or any armes whatsoever, by nine of the clock, to answer before the Generall for their misdemeanors past; and a private charge was given to the Loyall Army to accompanie the Mutineers as soone as they were come, and to stop all passages or issues coming or going out of the Market place, being well armed, and in Martiall array: This being performed, *Scipio* with his Councell of War, and a strong guard attending upon him, came to the Market place, and being seated in the Tribunall, made an Elegant Oration to the Mutineers, shewing them that he might, according to the Militarie lawes, and the ancient practise of the *Romanes*, deprivethem all of their lives for their late abhorred mutinie and Rebellion; but in consideration that he was confident that they would for the future wash away this ignominie by their valourous attempts against the common Enemie, he was graciously minded to pardon them all, thirtie of the chiefe authors onely excepted; and so commanded that *Albinus Calpurnius*, and *Atrius Umbro* their two Leaders, and eight and twentie more should be brought into the Market place; where they were in the first place whipped with leatherne thongs untill their blood did run downe their heeles, and afterwards their heads were cut off by the common Hang-man, as unworthy of a souldiers death; and command given to all the rest of the mutineers to go and receive their arrears, and to take a new Oath, to be more faithfull and obedient to their Generall, and chiefe Officers for the time to come. And thus was this great Mutinie appeased, Justice executed, and the clemencie of the Generall exalted and magnified by the mutineers themselves, who did afterwards recover their former honour and reputation by their valourous actions against *Hannibal* in *Africa*, under the leading of *Scipio* their Generall, who they honoured all their life time as their loving father, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Arbitrarie Government of the Sword.

ALl sorts of Governments whatsoever are apt, by the naturall ambition and depraved disposition of men, to become Arbitrarie. The *Romane* Church, or Hyrarchie is by its inquisition become Arbitrarie.

* Tacitus
lib. 15.

f See Tacitus,
Suetonius, and
Plutarch.

g See the
Turkish
Historie
in their
lives.

and the* Democracies, Aristocracies, and Monarchies, have not been freed from it, and the Militarie hath followed the same tract. But among all the ancient and moderne Histories that I have read, I find none which doth more fully relate the Arbitrarie government of the Sword then the *Turkish* Historie, in the discription of the carriages of the *Sultans* of *Egypt*, and of their *Mamelukes*, who ruled those large and rich Kingdomes of *Syria* and *Egypt* by the power of the Sword above three hundred yeares. But before I come to the narration of it, I will speake a word or two of the *Romanie* and *Turkish* Emperors, for some of them have miscarried by the power of the Sword. 1. After the death of the Emperor *Caligula*, the Pretorian souldiers did assume to themselves the supreme power, electing of their own accord, without the assent of the Senate and of the People, the Emperor *Claudius*. 2. The *Romanie* Legions that were in *Spaine* did assume the same power, and before the death of *Nero*, they elected *Galba* for their Emperor. 3. The Pretorian souldiers did slay most perfidiously the good Emperour *Galba*, and elected *Otho* in his place: and by this president, the Legions of *Germanie* did in the 4th. place elect *Vittelius* for their Emperour. 5. The *Roman* Legions of *Syria* and *Judea*, who thought themselves as worthy as the rest, elected *Vespasianus* for their Emperor, so that in lesse then one yeare, there reigned foure Emperors, three of which were slaine, and deposed by the power of the Sword. 6. And lastly, The *Jannissaries* have at this day incroached the supreme power of the *Turkie* Empire; for they depose, and inthroned who they please, so they be of the *Ottoman* race; for they deposed *Mustapha*, and placed *Aclamat* in his Throne; and then they strangled *Aclamat*, and restored *Mustapha*, and now have exalted *Abrahim*. And this should induce Princes, and States, to prevent by wisdom and policy, that the supreme power of a Monarchy or State, doth not fall into the hands of their men of warre, because they become from superiours, inferiours, and servants to their own servants, as it will appeare by the sequell of this narration. In the declination of the Empire of *Constantinople*, the *Egyptians* groaning under the oppressions of the *Greeke* Emperours, required aid of the *Sultan* of *Syria*, who sent them *Sarraco* a *Sarazine*, but a valiant souldier, with a great Army, who overcame, and drove away out of *Egypt* the *Greekes*, and all their men of warre; but in lieu. to restore the *Egyptians* to their ancient Liberties, for which end they had required his aid, he slew perfidiously their *Caliphe*, and ruled in his stead; To him succeeded *Saladin*, his brother, who deprived the Christians of the Kingdome of *Jerusalem*; and to him succeeded

ceeded many others untill the dayes of *Melichfola*, the last *Sultan* of *Saladin* his race, who had great wars with the Christians, and by these warres consumed the greatest part of his men of warre; and to recruite his Army, he was inforced to buy of the *Tartars* all their captives they tooke in warre; for in those dayes they made great incursions in *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and these captives he trained up in armes, and then did enroll them among his men of war; by whose valour he did not only preserve his dominions, but did also enlarge them & took *St. Lewis* King of *France* prisoner before *Damajeta*, but in the height of these prosperous events, he was perfidiously slaine by one of his slaves, called *Turquiminus*, who was by his fellow slaves elected the great *Sultan* of *Egypt*, but he suddainly being risen from a slave, to be a great Monarch, began to despise those who had raised him to that degree, and for his Imperious carriage was slaine by another of those slaves, called *Closbo*, that was also confirmed *Sultan* by his companions, who did much increase by his policy & valour the reputation of the *Mamaluks*, but he was also slaine by another slave called *Bindocader*, that reigned in his stead, and to him succeeded many others of the same servile condition, untill *Caijebrus*, who was among all the rest most famous for his wisdom, policy, and valour; for he erected military *Academies*, and bought all the Christian boyes that were taken by the incursions of the *Tartars* in *Cappadocia*, *Valakia*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, and all along the coasts of the *Euxin* sea, which he caused to be trained in these military *Academies*, in all manner of war-like exercises; in riding of great horses, in fencing, vaulting, wrastling, and swimming, in shooting off Musquets, Long-bowes, and Crosse-bowes, and all other military exercises whatsoever, and by skilfull Masters; and when they came to be twenty yeares of age, the most active and strongest of them were enrolled among the *Mamaluks* horse-men, and the weakest of them were employed to mechanically trades; so that these *Mamaluks* did by degrees attaine to the highest dignities, none being admitted to places of honour and trust, but such as were of Christian parents, and had beene bred from their youth in these Militarie *Academies*; And this was so strictly observed, that the *Sultan*, and the *Mamaluks* children were debarred from all places of power or authoritie; and all to uphold, and continue their servile Monarchie. And by this means the supreme power of the State was continued in the hands of the *Mamaluks* onely; for the *Syrians*, *Jewes*, and *Egyptians* were not admitted to any places of Command, neither in the Civill, nor the Militarie affaires; nay, they were

not permitted to keep horses, nor any manner of Armes, nor to exercise themselves in riding, or fencing; but the richest sort were suffered to trade and merchandise, and the meaner sort to be artificers, or husbandmen. So that the *Egyptians*, *Jewes*, and *Syrians*, anciently famous for their learning, courage, and valour, were kept under like slaves, for their lives and goods were at the disposing of the *Mamaluks*, because all the land was divided among the *Mamaluks* horsemen, for their life time, for which they were to serve in warre gratis, as the *Spasi* are among the *Turkes*; so that the *Egyptians* were all but Tenants at will, and the slaves of their slaves; for the *Mamaluks* did ravish their wives and their daughters without controule, and took their cattell at what rate they pleased, and were besides over-burdened with grievous imposts and taxes, laid upon them by the *Sultan*, for the maintenance of his warres, and Royall dignity. But God, that abhorred tyranny and oppression, did unexpectedly poure downe upon their heads the viols of his wrath and indignation, and did cut off these *Mamaluks* and their posterity from the earth in lesse then three yeares time; after they had continued in their impenitency, and tyrannicall courses above three hundred yeares, in making choise of another Tyrant to be his instrument, for their utter ruine and extirpation. I meane *Sylimus*, the cruell Emperour of the *Turkes*, that was by the divine providence induced against his former resolutions to warre against *Campson Gorus*; the *Sultan* of *Egypt*, in lieu to go with his Army against *Ismael* King of *Persia*, as it had been resolved in his Councell of warre; and so being come into *Syria*, with intention to besiege the City of *Aleppo*, *Campson Gorus* came with a great Army to the rescue of it, whereupon a great battell was fought between the *Turkes* and the *Mamaluks*, but by the Treason of *Cayrbus* the Governour of *Aleppo*, the *Turkes* had the better of it, and in the flight of the *Mamaluks*, old *Campson* was thrown off of his horse, and was trampled to death; and the *Mamaluks* chose in his stead *Tomonbejus*; but *Sylimus* after this great victory marched with his Army to *Damascus*, and sent *Sinan Basha* to *Gaza*; and both these cities being yeilded to him, he marched with his Armies over the desarts of *Arabia* to grand *Cair*, which he took by storme, and presently after he defeated the *Sultan Tomonbejus* and his whole Army, and took him as he lay hid in a *Moorish* Marsh, up to the chin in mud and water, and then caused him to be hanged in the midst of the greatest gate of the City of *Cair*, and so before his returne to *Constantinople*, he did utterly extinguish the name, and the tyrannie of the *Mamaluks*.

b See the
Turkish
Historie
in *Sylimus*
life.

It may then be observed by what hath been said, that the military Government is necessary, and of great use in all Common-weales, so the number of the men of warre be proportionable to the Revenues of the State, and that it be subordinary to the civill Government, and not superiour; for otherwise it would introduce the Government of the sword, that is more arbitrary then any other Government whatsoever, &c.

CHAP. XX.

A brief and generall Observation upon these severall sorts of Governments.

IT is to be observed, that no government whatsoever can subsist without Order and Obedience, because Order and Obedience makes them durable and permanent, and without them they decline, and are suddenly annihilated.

1. That no Family, Association, Common-weale, or Monarchie can continue, except it hath some kinde of Government, because it is the very life and soule of all politique bodies; and that their continuance is small or great, according to the justice and moderation of them.

2. That the Family Government doth excell all other in antiquitie, and that it is the well-spring of all other Governments, because all politique bodies are composed of Families; and that it is also more like then any to the Divine Government, and to the just and absolute Monarchie.

3. That the Democraticall Government is the worst of the three simple Governments, because it is subject to become seditious, turbulent, or imperious, or to fall into a confused Anarchie, and that it is of no continuance, except it hath a great Senate, as the *Romane* Democracie had, to advise, consult, and resolve upon those things that are fit to be proposed to the people, in whose hands the supreme power of this Government doth consist.

4. That the Aristocraticall Government is more noble, and more durable then the former, so the Senators be wise men just, and self-denying, and do divide themselves into severall Councells, as the *Venetians* do, to debate, consult, and resolve upon such things as are to be proposed to the Generall Councell of the Nobles, who have the supreme power of the State in their hands, and that no factions be fomented among the rulers; for when this Government becomes factious, it becomes suddenly arbitrary, as it may appear by the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, described by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*.

G 3

6. That

*In his
Historie
of the
world. lib.
3. cap. 9.*

6. That the just, successive, and absolute Monarchicall Government is the best of the three simple Governments, so the Prince his heart be sanctified, and indued with supernaturall graces; for it comes nearer to the divine and family Government then any other; but because Princes as well as others, are subject to passions and infirmities; it is more apt to fall into an arbitrary government, then a well composed Monarchy.

7. That the Oligarchy, or divided Monarchicall Government is at this present out of use, by the ambition of men: and that it hath ever beene fatal and destructive to all those Princes that have practised the same.

8. That the Elective Monarchicall Government is grievous to the people, advantagious to the Nobles, and dishonourable to the Prince.

9. That the Imperious Monarchicall Government, is little better then the arbitrary, and that Christian Princes are not to practise the same.

10. That the arbitrary Monarchicall Government is of no continuance, and abhorred of God and men.

11. That the *French* Monarchicall Government is by the incroachments of some of their Princes become in a manner absolute, and that the *French* Nation hath but a few fragments left of their ancient Liberties, that do at this day consist in their Nobility.

12. That the composed Monarchicall Government of *England* is the best that ever was invented, and that our civill distractions do not proceed from the defects of the Government, but from the Nationall sin; and because the Treble of it hath of late yeares been tuned too high for the Base, and that the only meanes to procure the sweet harmony of peace, is to keepe the instrument of the Common-weale in tune, allowing to the Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, of which it is composed, their due rights and prerogatives.

Lastly, That the Military Government is usefull and necessary at all times, but especially in these contentious dayes, so it be kept subordinate to the Civill, and that the pay of the men of warre doth not exceed the Revenues of the State, &c.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Birth of Common-weales, and Monarchies.

I Have formerly in the third Chapter of this Treatise, shewn how all Common-weals and Monarchies are composed of families, but some reasons must be given how these families are induced to associate themselves

themselves into Common-weals and Monarchies, and by what motives
 they are perswaded to resign the right, liberty, and authority that na-
 ture hath given them over their own household, to become subordinate
 to a supream Power. But these motives are so numerous, that I should
 be over tedious to relate them all, and therefore for brevities sake, I will
 only treat upon four of them. 1. It is to secure themselves from the
 violence of men. 2. To live more comfortably. 3. To prevent Pe-
 stilence and Famine. 4. To extend their limits, and make themselves fa-
 mous in the world. For the first, The ancient ^a *Trojans*, after the destru-
 ction of *Troy*, to secure themselves from the fury of the *Greeks*, fled into
Africa, and there erected the City and Common-weal of *Carthage*,
 within fourscore years before the foundation of *Rome*. Secondly, In the
 year of our Lord 435. when *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, with fire and
 sword did waite ¹ *Italie*, many noble families, to secure themselves from his
 rapine and crueltie, forsook the main land, and fled into many small
 Islands in the *Adriatique* Gulf, and having built there many stately hou-
 ses, joyned them together by stone bridges and causeis, and erected the
 famous City & Common-weal of *Venice*, that was at the first a ^m Demo-
 cracie, but is at this present one of the best Aristocracie Governments
 in *Christendome*. Thirdly, The *Welsh*, to secure themselves from the fury of
 the *Romans* that did overrun *England*, fled into little ⁿ *Britany* in *Gaulle*,
 and there erected many fair Cities, and the Dutchy, and Principallity
 of *Britanie*. 4. The *Greeks* to secure themselves from the fury of the
Persians, fled into *Sicilia* and into *Gaulle*, and there erected the famous
 Common-weales of *Syracusa*, and of *Marseillis*. For the second, By
 the association of families into the politick body of a Common-weal,
 men live more comfortably, then in a solitary and Champion life; for
 society, and the familiar conversation with men of naturall and acquired
 parts, doth rejoyce and revive the the spirits of men. Secondly, By this
 Association men receive variety of accommodations, from which the
 Champion life is deprived, or is enforced with labour and charges to
 fetch from remote places, in which Cities and Corporations do abound,
 I mean by the multiplicity of Artificers, Shop-keepers, and the tra-
 ding of whole-sale men, and Merchants, that bring all manner of
 Commodities from forraign parts, by whose trading the Citizens,
 the Gentry, and the Yeomondry grow rich, and the Common-Weale,
 or Monarchie doth flourish; for in Cities that abound in trading, let them
 be never so populous, there is never no want of Provisions, for where
 money is to be had, the country people resort to vent their Commo-
 dities;

^k See *Li-*
vinci in his
 3. *Decade*,
 and Sir
Walter
Rawleigh
 in lib. 3.
^l See the
Italian Hi-
 storie, and
 the *Inven-*
tory of
France.
^m See *Con-*
tarini in
 his Com-
 mon-weal.
ⁿ See
Speeds Hi-
 storie.
^o See *Pla-*
tarch in
Themi-
stocles life.

dities; besides if a dearth or famine happen in that country and Nation they are easily supplied of all necessities by the trading, and the industrie of their merchants from beyond the seas. It is therefore to be observed, that the trading and Merchandise, doth above all other things uphold and enrich Cities, Common-weals and Monarchies; for instance Trading made *Tyrus* one of the richest Cities in the world; and four score years since, when *Venice* had the trade of Silks, Spices, and Cottons, and did disperse them into all parts of *Christendome*, it was the most famous, and the richest Cities in *Europe*; but now it is become poor, because it hath been deprived of this trade, by the sea-voyage into the *East-Indies*, and *Constantinople*, undertaken by the *Portugals*, *Hollanders*, and the *English*. And in the reign of *Edward* the fourth *Bruges* was the glory of *Flanders*, by its extraordinary trading; and in the reign of *Henry* the eighth, *Antwerp* got the start of all the Cities of the *Netherlands*, by its incredible Trading. And in the dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*, the City of *London*, by its trading into all parts of the world, became one of the most famous and richest Cities in *Christendom*. And at this time the incredible trading of *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, hath raised the City, and the united Provinces to that height of pride, and presumption, that they have forgotten their former condition, and that they had undoubtedly remained under the Spanish yoke, had they not been aided and relieved by *Queen Elizabeth*, and *Lewis* the thirteenth, King of *France*, with brave souldiers, and great sums of money. Princes and States-men should therefore cherish trading, for by the industry of Merchants, Common-weals, and Monarchies abound in wealth, and riches; whereas the decay of it, makes them to be poor, and despised of their neighbors. For the third, the Northern Nations, that are more apt by the coldness of their Climate to generation then the Southern men, have been enforced to disburden themselves of their multitudes, and to prevent penurie and famine, to send their Colonies abroad, by which many Common-weals and Monarchies have been erected: for the *Goths* over-ran *Spain*, and there did erect divers Monarchies, which continued untill they were driven out by the *Arabian Moores*; and the *Lombards* over-ran *Italy*, and there erected divers Common-weales, & Monarchieall Principalities; and the *Frausonians* over-ran *France*, and mixt with the *Gauls*, drove out the *Romans*, and did erect the *French* Monarchie; and the *Saxons*, and the *Danes*, over-ran *England*, and erected divers small Monarchies, that continued untill they were driven out by the *Normans*, that came also into *France* from the North regions.

p See the Prophet *Ezekiel*, and the siege of *Tyrus* in *Sir Walter Rawleigh*.
q See the Historie of *Venice*.
r See *Portugale Travels*.

f See the Historie of the *Netherlands*.

s See *Sir Walter Rawleigh* in his Treatise of the *Arabian* Monarchie.
n See the *Spanish* Historie.
x See the Invention of *France*, and *Spain*.

But the *Tartars* and the *Sythians* have over-run almost all *Asia*, and a great part of the *East Indies*: for the Monarchie of the *Turkes* and *Persians* that are extant at this day have beene erected by certaine Colonies that came out of *Sythia*; two of the chiefeft Families of them being called the *Zelzaccian* Family, and this over-runne *Persia* and *Armenia*, and erected there a Monarchie; and the other, called the *Ottoman* Family, did by degrees erect the *Turkish* Monarchie; and the *Tartars* have erected in the *East Indies*, the Monarchie of the great *Mogor*, which counts himselfe the tenth Prince of the Lineall Descent of *Tamberlain* the great: and the grim *Tartar* did the last yeare over-runne the large and rich Kingdome of *China*, which will undoubtedly produce some mutation in that Monarchie. Moreover the *French* Nation did over-runne anciently *Capalocia*, *Phrigia*, and *Galatia*, and erected divers Monarchies among the *Gorgians*, that are now become tributarie to the *Turkes*; and of late yeares *England*, to disburden it selfe of the super-numerous number of its inhabitants, hath sent divers Colonies into *America*, and the Islands of it, which will in time erect divers Common-weales, or Monarchies. For the fourth, The *Greekes*, to extend their limits, and to make themselves famous, sent divers Colonies into *Italy*, that did erect Common-wealths; as among others, *Tarente*, and *Alba*, and others in *Moria*, and along the coasts of *Ionia*. 2. The City and Common-weale of the *Rhodians* was erected by a Colony of the *Greekes*, to enlarge their Dominions. 3. The *Romanes* likewise to extend their limits sent Colonies in all the Cities of *Italy*, and in divers Cities of *France* and *Germany*. 4. And lastly, The *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Greekes*, and *Romanes*, to make themselves famous, and to enlarge their Dominions, reduced many Nations under their subjection, as it will appear in the next Chapter, &c.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Increase and decay of Monarchies.

Sith the very haire of our head are numbred; and that a Sparrow doth not fall to the ground without the permission of our heavenly Father; Why should we be dismayed for those changes that are happened of late yeares in this desolate Kingdome? sith we may be confident, that they are not happened by chance, or accidentally, as the Atheists of this age conceive, but by the speciall providence of God, that hath certainly more care of Monarchies, then of the haire of our heads, or of the

H

sparrowes

^a See the *Invenens* of *France* and *Speed*.
^y See the *Turkish* Historie in *Ottomans* life.

^x See *Guyard du Haillen* in his *French* Historie.
^a See *Turkish Travels*.
^b See *Lilwin* in his 1. *Decade*. lib 1.

^c *Marth.* 10 ver. 29, 30, 31.

¶ Rom. 8.
ver. 28.

* Dan. 1.
7, 8.

g See *Iohn Sleidan* in the beginning of his *Common-weale*.
b Gen. 11.

sparrowes of the aire, two of which are sold for a farthing ; And this consideration should uphold and comfort his children in these miserable times, and make them rest upon this promise, *That all things worke together for good to them that love God, &c.* But to confute this erroneous opinion of the *Atheists*, that imagine that all things happen by accident, I will make a short relation of the increase and decay of the *Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Romane Monarchies*, four of the greatest that ever were in the world ; by the which they may see, that their increase, and decay was guided by the divine providence, as having bene fore-told many yeares before by the Prophet * *Daniel* ; an irrefutable argument, that God, who had foretold by his Prophet their birth, increase, and decay, knew also their end, and had prefixed the day of their last period. Moreover, as the learned Physician cannot by his art, nor with his most exquisite extractions, prolong an houre the life of his Patient, if the appointed time of his departure be at hand ; even so, it is impossible for the greatest Princes, or Statesmen to prevent the change and revolutions of Common-weales and Monarchies, by their wisdom, policy, valour, and the power of their men of warre, if the day of their ruine, appointed in the secret Counsell of God, be come. For as we see by daily experience, that the assistant faculties that God hath infused for the helpe of man, in divers simples, and drugges, become destructive, and loose their naturall operation, when they are administered to Patients, when their dissolution is neare ; even so the wisdom, policy, and power of Princes, and Statesmen, do rather set forward the ruine and desolation of Common-weales, and Monarchies, then preserve the same ; if the day of its visitation appointed by the Creatour be come. Yet notwithstanding, to discharge their duty, because the secret will and decree of God, as well concerning mens lives, as the end and period of Monarchies is concealed from men ; Physicians, Princes, and Politicians are to use all lawfull meanes, and the aide of secondary causes for the recovery of their patients, and the restoring of Monarchie, and leave the issue of it to the will and pleasure of God. But before I come to this Narration, in which I will be as brief as may be, because this Subject hath bene handled by the Learned Civilian * *Iohn Sleidan*, and the noble Knight, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, I will relate the suddaine ruine of some Cities, Common-weales, and Monarchies, to shew the mutabilitie and vicissitude of all things under the Sunne. 1. The Cities of *Sodomie* and *Gomorah* were consumed and destroyed in an instant by fire and brimstone. 2. The City of *Troy* was utterly destroyed by the *Greeks*,

by

By the fallacie of the perfidious *Synon*, when they held themselves out of danger by the departure of the *Greeks*. 3. The City and Common-weale of *Thebes* was utterly razed by *Alexander* the great; and also the rich City of *Tyrus*, which was by him taken by an admirable Mole or Causey, erected with great Art over an arme of the sea. 4. *Bizance*, now called *Constantinople*, was of a suddaine destroyed by the Emperor *Septimus Severus*, and all its inhabitants removed into forraigne parts. 5. The famous City of *Sebastia* was destroyed by *Tamberlain* the great, & most part of the Citizens slaine, and the other part sold for slaves. 6. *Rome* was once sacked and burned by the *Gaules*, and afterwards by the *Goths* and *Vandals*. 7. The great and rich City and Kingdome of *Mexico* was pillaged and destroyed by the *Spaniards*. 8. *Munster* in *Westphalia* was suddenly destroyed by *John of Laiden*, and the *Anabaptists*; the Magistrates slaine and exiled, and the Government changed, and an incredible Tyrannie exercised by a new sort of Saints, called *Anabaptists* and *Levellers*. 9. And lastly, The great and rich Kingdome of *Morocco* in *Africa*, was of late yeares over-runned and destroyed by two Hermites of Saints, that drove away, and slew all those of the Royall Line of the right Kings of *Morocco*: by these, and many other presidents that could be produced to this purpose, it appears nothing is certaine and permanent in this world, as it will be more fully shewne by this ensuing Narration of the decay of these foure great Monarchies.

I. The *Assyrian* Monarchie began at *Nimrod* the great Hunter: for by violence he enforced many Families to wander up and down with him untill they came to the Plaines of *Shinar*, and there they erected *Babel*; by which it is apparent, that the first Monarchie that ever was erected upon earth was Imperious, and established by violence; whereas just and well governed Common-weales and Monarchies, are to be established by the unanimous consent of many Families, and with the generall assent of the People; as the Common weale of *Venice* was, as it hath bene shewne in the last Chapter. But this and the *Romane* Monarchie were erected by violence; and the *Persian* and *Gracian* were established by conquest, which is also a kinde of force and violence, but of another nature. The reason why this Monarchie is sometimes called the *Assyrian*, and sometime the *Babylonian*, is, that the seat of it was transferred from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*, and that it fell for a time into an Oligarchie, or divided Monarchie, between *Arbaces*, and *Belochus*; the last, styling himself King of *Babylon*, and the other King of the *Medes* and *Persians*;

i See Homer in his Illiads.

k See Plutarch in Alexanders life.

l See Herodotus in Severus life.

m See the Turkish Historie in Syllivius life.

n See Livius 1. Decade lib. 8.

o See the West Indian Historie.

p See Sleidan lib 12.

q See the Moores Wars.

r Gen. 10. ver. 9. Chap 11. ver. 2.

(See Constantini in his Common-weale.

See Sir
Walter Ra-
leigh in his
Historie
of the
World.

2 Kings
18. 11.

2 Kings
20. 35.

Jer. 52.
10. 11.

2 Dan. 4.
32.

both of them being Lieutenants of *Sardanapalus*; and yet they de-
prived their Lord of life, and of his Empire; but it was againe reunited
into one, in *Merodack* dayes. Now because the Geneologie of *Nimrod*
is elegantly describ'd in the *Historie of the World*, written by Sir *Walter*
Rauleigh, I will for brevities sake begin with *Belochus*, that raigned after
Sardanapalus, the eight and thirtieth Monarch of the first *Assyrian* line:
This *Belochus*, called in the holy Scripture *Phul* carried many thousands
of *Jewes* into *Babylon*, and had a son called *Tyglas-Phileassar* and to him
succeeded *Salmanser*, that took *Samaria*, and carried away the ten
Tribes of *Israel* to him succeeded *Senacherib*, who besierged *Jerusalem* in
the dayes of *Ezekiah*, but was enforced to flee to *Nineveh* againe, be-
cause the Angel of the Lord slew in one night, one hundred and four-
score and five thousand men of his Army; and after his returne, as he was
worshipping in the Temple of his Idols, he was perfidiously slain by his
two sonnes, *Adramelech*, and *Sarasar*, and his youngest sonne *Assaradon*
raigned in his stead. Now by the civill warre that fell out between these
three brethren, *Merodack*, Governor of *Babylon* had a faire opportuni-
tie to deprive them of their Empire, and to raigne in their stead, and he
raigned fortie yeares. To him succeeded *Nebuchadnezzar*, who warred
against the *Egyptians*, and tooke from them all those large Dominions
that lie along the river *Euphrates* to *Damajesta*, and in the beginning of
his raigne imposed a Tribute upon *Jehojakim* King of *Judah*; and in the
seventh yeare of his raigne, he carried away *Jehojakim* and his mother,
and their servants, and all the treasures that were found in the house of
the Lord; and from this day, to the first yeare of the raigne of *Cyrus*,
King of *Persia*, (who gave libertie to the people of the *Jewes* to returne
to *Jerusalem*) are comprized the seventie yeares of the Captivitie spoken
of by *Jeremiah*; and in the eighteenth yeare of his raigne, by the rebelli-
on of *Sedeiah* King of *Juda*, he came up and laid siege to *Jerusalem*;
and after two yeares siege, tooke, and burned the same, and carried the
rest of the people captives, and slew the sonnes of *Sedeiah* at *Riblach*,
before his face, and then caused his eyes to be put out, and led him in
chaines captive to *Babylon*: In his dayes the *Assyrian* Monarchie attain-
ed to its highest degree of glory. To him succeeded, as some say, *Evil-*
merodack his sonne, and others, *Belsazzar* his grand child; some main-
taining that *Evilmerodack* died before *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that he did
onely raign in his Father stead while he was driven away from the com-
pany of men, and that after seven yeares he was re-throned, and that
Evilmerodack dyed afterward, before him; and so by consequence *Bel-*
sazzar

Nebuchadnezzar, his grand childe, came to be his successour. But howsoever, this *Belsazzar* was the last King of the *Assyrian* Monarchie; for in his dayes *Darius*, sonne of *Astyages*, the eighth King of the *Medes*, with *Cyrus* his sonne in law, Prince of *Persia*, did besiege *Babylon* with a great Army; and because it was strongly fortified, *Cyrus* caused many small channells to be digged secretly, and when they were all ready, he caused the scotches to be broken downe, and so conveyed the great river *Euphrates*, that did runne along one of the sides of the City, cleane away, whereby his Army came over, and tooke the City that very night that *Belsazzar* was sacrilegiously drinking in the golden vessels that had beene brought from *Jerusalem*, with his Wives, Princes, and Concubines; and so, according to the Interpretation of the Prophet *Daniel*, he was deprived that night of his life and Empire; and *Darius*, of threescore and two yeares of age, reigned in his stead; and so the *Assyrian* Monarchie was transferred from the *Assyrians* to the *Persians*, and *Medes*, after it had continued above fourteene hundred yeares.

a Dan. 5. 4.
and 28.

b Sir Wm. Ralegh.

c Dan. 5. 3.

II. The *Persian* Monarchy was but short in comparison of the *Assyrian*; for if *Darius*, sonne of *Astyages* be accounted in the first place, there was in all but ten *Persian* Monarchies; but because he reigned but a little above a year, some Authours leave him out, and begin the *Persian* Monarchie from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, a Prince famous for his vertues and valour; for he reduced under his Empire the rich Kingdome of *Lydia*, and took prisoner *Cressus* the King of it, and graciously gave him his life, as he was ready to be burnt, and made him his Lieutenant in *Sardis*: Then he went with his Army against the *Tartars* and *Scythians*, and did over-runne a great part of their Countrey, but at last he was taken in an ambush, and slaine by the command of a *Scythian* Queene. To him succeeded *Cambyses* his sonne, a valorous Prince, but most cruell; he conquered the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and as he was returning to *Babylon*, to suppress the rebellion of the *Magie*, in getting up on horse-back, his sword came out of his scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh, of which wound he dyed. To him succeeded *Darius*, sonne of *Hystaspes*, by election, for *Cambyses* had formerly made away his own brother; this *Darius* did recover *Babylon* that was revolted, by the means of his faithful friend *Zopyrus*, and afterwards made warre against the *Athenians*, but his Army was defeated at the battell of *Marathon* by *Miltiades* the famous *Athenian* Generall. To him succeeded his sonne *Xerxes*, who to vindicate his fathers losses, came into *Greece* with an Army of a

d See Herodotus in his life.

e Thucydides.

f Plutarch
in Them-
istocles life.

g After 1.
ver. 1.

b See Ze-
nophon and
Plutarch.

million of men, and a mighty great Navy, but by the wisdom and policie of *Themistocles*, the *Athenian* Admirall, his Navy was overthrowne by the Island of *Salamine*, and his land Army having beene foiled in *Thessalia*, he fled over the bridge, erected by him over the Straite of *Hellepontus*, and so returned into *Asia*, and there was slaine by the meanes of his Uncle *Artabanus*. To him succeeded *Artaxerxes*, called *Longhand*, his sonne, who many take to be the great King *Ahasuerus* that married Queene *Esther*, a Prince endowed with excellent parts, and in whose reigne the Monarchy of *Persia* attained to its greatest glory; for he had under his subjection one hundred and seven and twenty Provinces, and reigned forty yeares. To him succeeded *Darius Nothus*, who made great warres against the *Athenians*, in *Morea* and *Ionia*, and at his death left three sonnes, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Cyrus*, and young *Ochus*; *Artaxerxes* obtained the Empire by the favour of his father, but *Cyrus* waged warre against his brother, and invited the *Greeks* to his aid, who sent to him *Zenophon*, with an Army of ten thousand *Greeks*, but *Cyrus* and his Army were routed, and himselfe slaine, and the *Greeks* having kept themselves in an entire body, returned safe home. by the admirable care and industry of their Generall *Zenophon*. After *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, that was so named for his excellent memory, *Ochus* succeeded him, who died without issue, and *Darius* the last, succeeded him, a vertuous and moderate Prince, but unfortunate in his warres, for *Alexander* the Great overthrow him in three pitcht battels, and in the second took his mother, his wife, and his daughters prisoners, but he after the third battell, fled into *Hyrcania* and there was slaine persiously by *Bassus*, one of his own subjects, who *Alexander* caused to be put to death. And so the great *Persian* Monarchie was transferred to the *Greeks*, after it had continued according to *Metasthenes*, one hundred ninety and one yeares, and according to *Ensebius*, and other learned men, two hundred twenty nine yeares, &c.

III. The Monarchy of the *Persians* being thus transferred to the *Greeks*, *Alexander* the Great, King of *Macedonia*, was the first and the last Monarch of it, as it shall be shewn in due time. But it is a thing almost incredible, that so small an Army, consisting only of ten thousand horse and of forty thousand foot at the most, should be able (after it had fought three pitcht battels, where divers hundred thousands of their enemies, and many of their own were slaine) to subdue all *Asia*, and part of the *East-Indies*; And this consideration should convince all *Atheists*

that there is a God, by whose admirable providence all things are disposed of, and hath decreed the beginning and the end of all Monarchies. *Alexander* having thus overcome *Darius*, marched towards *Babylon*, and reduced under his power all the Cities and Provinces of the upper and lower *Asia*, and all the Islands, and sea coasts adjoining to the same; and then marched with his Army into the *East-Indies*, and returning to *Babylon*, gave himselfe over to a licentious and lascivious life; and being exalted with his unexpected prosperity, would be 'adored as a God, *See Quintus Curtius*. and caused divers of his most faithfull Commanders, and familiar friends, that did admonish him to desist from his vaine and impious courses, to be slaine, by which meanes he lost the hearts and affections of his dearest friends, and was poysoned in the flower of his youth, being but three and thirty yeares of age, a Prince of great parts, and a great lover of learning, for he gave to *Aristotle*, that had bene his Tutor, at one time foure hundred fourescore thousand crownes of gold; *See Plutarch in his life*. he died in the foure hundred and twenty nine yeare after the foundation of *Rome*, and three hundred and twenty two yeares before the nativity of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*. His Empire was divided between his greatest Commanders, (although he left his beloved *Roxana* with childe,) which were these, *Antipater*, *Ptolomains*, *Laomedon*, *Antigonius*, *Cassander*, *Leonatus*, *Eumenes*, *Pytho*, *Lyfimachus*, *Meleager*, and *Selucius*; whereof foure by degrees deprived the other of their lives and estates, *See Plutarch in his lives*. *Ptolomains* became King of *Egypt*, *Antigonius* King of *Asia* the lesser, *Selucius* King of *Syria*, and *Cassander* after his father *Antipaters* death, became King of *Macedonia* and *Greece*. And all these Kingdoms were reduced before three hundred yeares came about, under the subjection of the *Romane* Monarchy, as it will appeare by the next Narration, &c.

III. The *Romane* Monarchy began in the days of *Ahas* King of *Judah*, for *Rome* the Metropolitane City of it, was founded by *Romulus* and *Remus*, in the reigne of *Salmanizer* King of the *Assyrians*, who lived in the days of *Ahas*. And although this Monarchy came to be the greatest of the foure, yet the beginning of it was the most obscure and contemptible; for *Romulus* and *Remus* were illegitimate, and their followers lawless and fugitives, and were not above three thousand when they began to erect the City of *Rome*; whereas the *Assyrian* Monarchy was composed of well governed families, that were enforced by the ambition of *Nimrod* to wander up and downe with him, but these were meer vagabonds,

*See Livius
1. Decade.
pag. 2. 3.
4. 5.*

¶ Judges
21. ver.
22, 23.

¶ Livius 1.
Decade, lib.
1. 246. 19.

¶ See Livius
1. Decade, lib. 3.
9, 10.

¶ See Livius,
Plutarch
and Thucydides.

¶ See Livius 1. Decade, lib. 1.
203, 4.

vagabonds, that had neither families, wives, nor children, as may appear by the ravishing of the *Sabines*, Virgins, imitating the children of *Benjamin*, who by a mutuall consent of the eleven Tribes, ravished two hundred Virgins of *Shiloh*, that came out to dance; even so *Romulus* proclaimed a feast, with dances and shows, to which these adjacent neighbours the *Sabines* were invited, and being come with their wives, and daughters, a party of young men appointed by *Romulus*, did ravish them by violence. Their first government was an Elective Monarchy, for they had seven Kings one after another; and in *Numius Brutus* day it became a Democracy, and from the foundation of *Rome*, to the days of *Augustus Caesar*, the government of *Rome* suffered twelve mutations; so subject are the democraticall governments to changes. The fancy of it continues from the foundation to the dayes of *Papirius Cursor*, and its virility, from that time to the dayes of *Trayan*, and its declination from *Trayan*, to the Emperour of *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*. In the three hundred yeare of the foundation of *Rome*, Embassadors were sent to *Athens*, for the lawes made by *Solon*, out of which the twelve *Romane* Tables were composed, and *Alexander* the Great, and *Papirius Cursor*, lived then in one and the same time, and *Livius* in his *Decades*, makes a comparison between them both, intimating, that if *Alexander* had made warre in *Italy*, that he should have met with his match; and it is certaine, that in that Age of the world, many great Commanders, and learned men did flourish more then any other we can read of; for among the *Greeks*, flourished *Alexander*, and all his Worthies, and *Aristotle*, and others; and among the *Romans*, *M. Valerius*, *Cervianus*, *Furius Camillus*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *C. Marius*, *Rutilius*, *Publius Decius Mus*, *Papirius Cursor*, *Publius Philo*, and *Lucius Volumnius*; and concerning the increase of this Monarchy, the *Romans* were busie untill the foure hundred and eighty five yeares of the foundation of *Rome*, to subdue all the adjacent neighbours of *Italy*, as the *Latins*, *Veientins*, *Eques*, *Faliskes*, *Samnites*, and *Ethruians*, or *Thescaus*, most wisely and politiquely observing this rule and maxime of State; viz. Not to leave any enemy behinde, that might foment a new warre in the bowels of *Italy*, when they were busie abroad among forraigne Nations. Their first transmarine warre was in *Sycilia*, from which sprung the first *Punicke* warre, in which the *Romans* had the better, and inforced the *Carthagenians* to hard conditions of peace; by which meane the peace concluded was of small continuance, for it lasted but twenty foure yeares: for at the first opportunity

portunity the *Carthagenians* brake the same, and made cruell warre in *Spaine*, and so began the second *Punique* warre, and after the taking of *Saguntus*, *Hannibal* was sent into *Italy*, who in three famous battels defeated the *Romanes*, and brought that Monarchy to the brim of despaire; and had not he beene insatuated, or more properly, dissuaded, and impeached by the admirable providence of God, to advance to *Rome*, after the battell of *Cannes*, as he was advised to do by *Mirabell* the Generall of his horse, he had undoubtedly overthrowne the *Romane* Monarchy; but God, that had decreed it should be the greatest in the world, made him neglect this opportunity, for to take *Capona*, to overthrow himselfe and his Army. And by this meanes the *Romanes* got heart, and sent *Marcellus* into *Sycilia*, who tooke *Syracuse*, and drove all the *Carthagenians* out of that Island; and at the same time *Publius* [Livius, Decade 3. lib. 2, 3, 4, 5.] *Scipio* was sent into *Spaine*, who reduced that Kingdome under the *Romane* subjection; and from thence returning to *Rome*, was sent into *Africa*, and in a short time inforced the *Carthagenians* to call *Hannibal* to their aid, and to forsake *Italy*, and after divers parlies of peace betweene these two great Commanders, which were to no purpose, they came to a pitcht battell, in which *Hannibal* and his Army were utterly defeated, and he inforced to flie unto *Antiochus* to save his life; and presently after *Publius Scipio* following his victory deprived the *Carthagenians* of the greatest part of their dominions, and inforced them to a dishonourable peace; And while these things were in hand in *Africa*, the *Romanes* having taken *Tarentia*, and recovered all the holds the *Carthagenians* held in *Italy*, sent aid to the *Etolians*, that were brought low by *Philip* the second, King of *Macedonia* (in which is to be admired the providence of God, that did so greatly favour the *Roman* Monarchy, that the *Romanes* had never two enemies to deale withall at one and the same time, for the *Etolian* and *Macedonian* warre begun when the second *Punique* warre was in a manner extinguished,) and so having aided the *Etolians* against *Philip*, they had opportunity to enter *Greece*, and under colour to restore them to their ancient Liberties, they sent *Quintus Flaminius* into *Greece*, who drove away all the *Macedonian* Garrisons, and inforced *Philip* to sue for peace, which being obtained, the warre against *Antiochus* began by the same providence spoken of before, and his land Army, and sea Navie was defeated by the *Romanes*, and a peace concluded; this being done, *Philip*, King of *Macedonia* repining at his hard conditions of peace, began a new warre, in which he was foiled, and dyed of griefe, and his sonne *Perius* continued

See Plu-
tarch in
Paulus
Emilius
life.

nored the same, against whom *Paulus Emilius* was sent with a great Army, that tooke the same King prisoner, and reduced the Kingdome of *Macedonia* under the *Romane* subjection. Then began the warre against the *Carthagenians*, and *Ingratha*, King of *Numedia*, in which *Carthage* was utterly razed & destroyed by *Scipio Africanus*, and *Ingratha* delivered into the hands of *Syla*, who was Lieutenant to *Marius*, which bred the bloody civill warre which fell out between *Marius* and *Syla*, that did cast the *Romane* Monarchy into great danger; but *Marius* was sent by the Senate over the *Alpes*, into *France*, against the *Cimbres* and *Tusones*, that were coming to invade *Italy*, which he defeated, and *Syla* was sent into *Cappadocia* and *Bythenia*, and then came into *Rome* against young *Marius*, and by his bloody precriptions made the City to overflow in blood. All these things happened from the yeare of the foundation of *Rome* 604. to the yeare 648. in which *Cicero*, the Prince of the *Romane* Eloquence was born, and was slain in the 61. yeare of his age by *Antonius*, presently after *Antiochus* and *Mithridates* were defeated, and *Syria*, *Judea*, *Armenia*, and *Bythenia* over-runned by *Luculus* and *Pompeius*, and *Switzerland*, *France*, the lower *Germany*, and *England* were reduced under the *Romane* subjection by *Julius Caesar* in seven yeares time. Then began the *Pompeian* and *Casarian* faction, whereupon *Caesar* came to *Rome*, and after the battell of *Pharxelles*, and the death of *Pompeius* in *Egypt*, he reduced in three yeares time *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europa* under his power, and changed the Democrati-call government of his native Countrey, into an Imperious Monarchy; but he having been slaine by *Caius*, and *Brutus*, and others of their conspiracy, the State fell into an Oligarchy, under the power of *Augustus*, *Lepidus*, and *Antonius*; but *Augustus* having overcome the two last, he came to be the absolute and Imperious Monarch of the *Romane* Monarchy, and this happened about the yeare of the foundation of *Rome* seven hundred and ten, and ten yeares before our blessed Saviour was borne, for he was borne in the 29 yeare of *Augustus* his reigne, and in the 3954. yeare after the Creation; Then were the *Hungarians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Esclavonians* reduced under subjection in *Augustus* his dayes, and the *Armenians* and *Parthians* by *Corbulo* in *Nero* his dayes; and the *Panonians*, *Esians*, and other *Germans* in *Domitianus* his dayes; and the *Danes* were subdued by the Emperour *Trayan*, in whose dayes the *Romane* Monarchy attained, for extent, to the highest degree of glory; and from that day did daily decline to its decrepit age, which fell out to be in the Emperours *Honorius* and *Arcadius* dayes, for then the feathers

feathers of the *Romane* Eagle were torne asunder, and its body divided into many Kingdomes, as the Empires of *Constantinople* and *Germany*; then did *Pharamond* the first King of *France* shake off the *Roman* yoke in the yeare 395. in the beginning of these two Emperours reigne abovespoken of, both *Spaine*, and *Italy* were over runne with *Goths* and *Vandalers*; and in the yeare 414. in the reigne of *Theodosius* the second, and *Valentinian* the third, *England* began to shake off the *Roman* subjection, and so by degrees nothing but the shadow of the *Romane* Empire is to be seene at this day. By this relation it may be observed, that the greatest Monarchies, as well as all other things under the Sun, have a beginning, a full growth, and an end, &c.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the most essentiall causes of the mutations of Monarchies.

THERE are six principall causes that produce the ruine of Monarchies,
 1. The crying finnes of a Nation. 2. Want of issue. 3. The ambition of men. 4. The lust of Rulers. 5. The effeminate life of Princes. 6. Heavy taxes and oppressions. And of every one of these in order.

1. For the first, The crying finnes of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* inforced the Lord to come downe himselfe, to see if their transgressions were so criminall, as they might not be pardoned, and so argued the case with *Abraham*, and was so gracious, as to promise, that if ten only were found righteous in those Cities, that he would pardon all the rest for their sakes: but this small number could not be found, and therefore the Lord did consume them with fire and brimstone. Secondly, The crying finnes of the *Amorites*, *Hivites*, and *Canaanites* was the only cause why the Lord made them to be destroyed by the People of *Israel*, and his judgement came not suddainly upon them; for the Lord was pleased to stay till their iniquities were full, and gave them five hundred yeares time to repent; for the people of *Israel* were captives foure hundred and thirty yeares, and this was spoken to *Abraham*, whereby the long suffering and patience of God may be observed towards poore miserable sinners. Thirdly, The impenitency of the *Jewes* for their crying finnes and transgressions, was the only cause that moved *Nebuchadnezzar* to come up against *Jerusalem*, and to burne the Temple, raze the walls, and to carry *Zedekiah* and the rest of the people into *Babylon*, into captivity; and this came not unawares, for he had given them warning of it long before by his Prophets. Fourthly, and lastly, The crying

x Gen. 19.

24.

Gen. 15.

ver. 16.

* Exod.

12. ver. 40.

See the
 Prophecies
 of *Isaiab*
 and *Ieremias*.

ing finnes of the *Jewes*, and their obstinate impenitencie, after they had beene admonished by our Saviour himself to returne unto the Lord, was the only cause why *Jerusalem* was utterly destroyed by the Emperour *Titus*, and all the *Jewes* scattered over the face of the earth, as they are at this day; and this generall desolation had beene foretold forty yeares before it happened. O *England*! repent then from thy finnes, and let not thine impenitencie be the cause of thy ruine, and utter desolation, for God in his mercie hath these fourescore yeares sent his Messengers unto thee, early and late, to invite thee to repentance, and yet behold, in lieu of amendment and reformation, thou growest daily more impious then ever, &c.

a Quintus
Curium in
Alexander's
life.

b See the
Chronicles of
Stow and
Speed.

c See the
Historie
of the
Kingdome
of Naples.

d See the
Historie
of France.

2. By want of issue, 1. In the last Chapter there is a notable instance for the prooffe of this point; for the only cause why the *Grecian* Monarchy was rent asunder, and divided betweene the chiefe Commanders of *Alexander* the Great, was because he left no issue able to governe a Monarchy of that extent: 2. The Kingdome of *England* fell into the hands of a stranger for want of issue, and so *Herald* did usurpe the Crowne, and did deprive *Edgar Athelini* of his right, because *Edward* the Confessour left no issue; and *William* Duke of *Normandy* conceiving to have more right to it, then *Herald* crossed the seas with a great Army, and in a pitcht battell slew *Herald*, and routed his Army, and so made good his Title by the sword; by which means the just Government of this Kingdome was changed for a time, and became an Imperious Monarchy, untill the concession of *Magna Charta*, and then it became a well composed Monarchy. 3. *Jane*, the last Queene of *Naples*, by want of issue, with her wanton life, and inconstant carriage towards the apparent heires of the Crowne, siding one day with the house of *Arragon*, and favouring another day the house of *Anjou*, did kindle such a fire of contention betweene the Houses of *Arragon* and *Anjou*, that the bloud of many thousand men could not quench the same to this day. 4. And lastly, The want of issue of the three last brethren of the house of *Valois*, that succeeded one after another to the Crowne of *France*. viz. *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, did kindle such a fire of civill warre in *France*, that could not be quenched by the bloud of a million of men, and had caused that Kingdome to fall in the *Spaniards* hands, if the right of *Isabella Eugenia*, eldest daughter to *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, and the last feminine heire of the house of *Valois* had not been annihilated by the *French* Salique law, that gave it without controule to *Henry* the fourth, of the house

of

of *Bourbon*, as the next heire of the Masculine line, &c.

3. By the ambition of men. 1. Ambition was so predominant in the heart of *Caesar*, that it made him trample under his feet the law of Nature, & of his allegiance confirmed by a solemn oath made to the people and the Senate of *Rome*, to obey & observe punctually their Orders; and yet out of ambition to make himself an absolute Monarch, when the Senate sent him divers honorable Commissioners to injoyne him to disband his Army, and refer the differences he had with *Pompeius* to the judgement and arbitration of the Senate, he did not only refuse to obey, but marched with the same Army that had beene raised by the power of the People, and the *Romane* Senate, against *Rome*, and deprived the Senate and his native Countrey of their ancient priviledges and liberties. 2. It was Ambition that moved the Emperor *Bassianus Caracalla* to trample the law of Nature under his feet, and to murder most impiously his owne brother *Geta* in his mothers armes, that he might reign alone. 3. It was Ambition that induced *Richard* the third, King of *England*, to trample the Law of God and of Nature under his feet, by imbrewing his hands in the innocent blood of his two hopefull Nephewes, his owne brothers sonnes, who had in his life time greatly preferred him, and all to attaine to the Crowne, which he enjoyed but a short time, and that also with great perplexities of Spirit, and terrors of Conscience. 4. And lastly, It was Ambition that did insatuate the minde and judgement of the Duke of *Guise*, to attempt upon his Sovereigne, *Henry* the third, King of *France*; or at least to have him razed and cast into a Cloister; and to bring this his perfidious designe to passe, he fomented for many yeares together a most bloody civill warre in the bowells of *France*; and when he was (at the three Estates assembled at *Blois*) ready to receive his wicked designe; it was pride and ambition that made him write these insolent Speeches upon a ticket (that had beene set under his napkin by some confident friend of his, as he came to dinner the day before that he was slaine) with these Contents, *Save your selves, or you are lost*; but he without amazement, called to his Page for a pen and inke, and writ underneath, *They dare not do it*; and so threw the ticket under the table: and notwithstanding the carnall feuritie of this ambitious Duke, he was slaine the next morning by the appointment of the King, as he was going thorow the Privie Chamber to the Kings private Cabinet, &c.

e See his Commentaries, and *Plutarch* in his life.

f See *Herodotus* in his life.

g See *Spyd* and *Stow* in the *Cronicles of England*.

b See the life of *Henry* the third.

4. By the lust of Rulers. 1. The rape of *Dinah*, by *Shechim* the sonne of *Hamor*, was the cause of the utter overthrow of the City, and of all

i Gen. 34. 12, 16.

the people thereof, and of the death of *Hamor*, and of *Shechem* sonne. 2. The rape of *Lucretia* by *Sextus Tarquinius*, sonne to the King *Tarquinius* the *Superbia*, was the cause that his father, his brethren and himself were banished, and their posteritie excluded from the royal Dignitie; and that the Government of *Rome*, that was then an Elective Monarchie, was changed into a Popularie Democracie. 3. The lust of *Apus Claudius*, one of the ten *Decem-vires*, (who had by violence usurped the supreme Power of the *Romane* Common-weales) towards *Virginia*, a chaste Virgin, was the cause that he made himself away in prison, and that the rest of his Colleagues, and fellow *Decem-vires* were banished, and the ancient Democraticall Government of *Rome* restored that had bene for three yeares under these ten Tyrants an Oligarchie. 4. The lust of *Roderigo* King of *Spaine*, who by violence dishonored and defile a *Spanish* Lady, called *Florinda*, daughter to *D. Fulvis*, a *Spanish* Earle, that he had on purpose sent abroad as an Ambassador into *Affrica*, was the cause that the said Earle, to vindicate himself of this injustice, brought in the King of the *Moors* with a great Army into *Spaine*, who deprived the said *Roderigo* of his Kingdome, and kept the greatest part of *Spaine* under their subjection for the space of several hundred yeares, &c.

5. By the effeminate life of Princes. 1. *Sardanapalus* the last Prince of the first line of the *Assyrian* Monarch, was deprived of his Empire as it hath bene shewne in the last Chapter, by his two Lieutenants, *Asiaticus* and *Arbaces*, for his lascivious and effeminate life. 2. The Emperour *Heliogabalus* was deprived of his life and Empire for his lascivious and effeminate life, by the *Pretorian* souldiers of his owne guard, not for any offence or injury received from him, but by a just judgement of God, because of his voluptuous and lascivious life, which was abhorred of all men, and did so incense his souldiers, that they broke into his Palace, and having found him hidden in a Privie, they hailed him out, with the Emperesse his mother, and dragged them both together (saying that the bitch and her whelpes should not be parted) up and downe the streets of *Rome*, and when their fury was past, they threw their bodies into the *Tyber*. 3. *Childerick* the fourth King of *France* was deposed, and made a Monke, and by the unanimous consent of the three Estates of the Kingdome; and *Pepin*, sonne of *Charles Martell* Constable of *France* was chosen in his place, because of the lascivious and effeminate life of *Childerick*, that was the last King of the first Race. 4. *Charles* the third, called the Simple, of the second Race, and the eighth

h Livius
Decade v.
lib. 1.

l Livius
Decade 1.
lib. 3.

m See the
Spanish
Historie.

n See Helio-
gabalus in
his life.

o See the
Inventio vic
of France.

ighth King after *Pepin*, was also by the just judgement of God deposed
Raoul, King of *Bourgundia*, although the said *Charles* had a sonne
 called *Lewis* that was afterwards the fourth King of *France* of that
 line, who was brought over into *England* by his mother, daughter to
 King *Edward*, named by the French Authours *Ogins*, and sister to *Al-*
phonse, then King of *England*; she like a vertuous and carefull mother
 brought up *Lewis* her sonne in her Brothers Court, and waited patiently
 till *Raoul* the usurper was dead, that reigned not above ten yeares;
 then she intreated her brother *Alphonse*, King of *England*, to send
 Ambassadors to the Peeres, and the three Estates of *France*, to intreat
 them that her sonne *Lewis* that was the right heire of the Crowne of
France, might be restored to his Fathers dignity; The Peeres and the
 three Estates assented to it, and so the Queene and her sonne returned
 to *France*, where he was received with great joy and honour, and was
 crowned, and called *Louis d'outre Mer*, because he had beene brought
 nine yeares in the *English* Court; And the only reason why his fa-
 ther was deposed, was because he was of a sottish, silly, and effeminate
 disposition. And in this deposing, the retaliation of Gods justice was
 apparently scene, for as *Pepin* had deposed his lawfull Sovereigne for
 sedition, so was one of his childrens children deposed for the same
 crime, &c.

6. And lastly. By grievous taxes and oppressions; many ancient in-
 stances could be produced to prove this point: but for brevities sake, I
 will onely make use of foure moderne examples. 1. The grievous taxes
 and oppressions laid upon the Commons of the *Switzers*, and *Grisons*
 of the House of *Austria*, and their Imperious Nobilitie, enforced them
 to a generall Insurrection, and to shake off the yoke of the house of
Austria, and to slay, and exile all their Nobles, and change their ancient
 Government into thirteen Cantons, or small Common-weales, the grea-
 ter of them being Aristocracies, and the smallest Democracies. 2. The
 excessive oppressions of the *Spaniards* in the seventeenth Provinces of the
Neiderlands, both in the Ecclesiasticall, Temporall, and Civill Govern-
 ment, hath enforced of late yeares seven of those Provinces to fall off
 from their Allegiance, and to shake off the *Spanish* yoke; and by the
 power of the Sword, have enforced the Kings of *Spain* to acknowledge
 them free States; and so from a Monarchicall Government, they have
 created a Common-weale, partly Aristocraticall, and partly Democra-
 ticall. 3. The grievous imposts and taxes laid upon the French Com-
 mons of late yeares by the French Kings, or their Emisaries, Projectors,

See the
History of
Germany.

See the
Neider-
lands Hi-
storie of
Demmin.

or

9 See the
History of
France.

or Partizans, hath beene the cause of great insurrections in the Provinces of *Anjou, Xantonges, Poitou, Gascoigne, and Normandie*, as it appears in the *French Histories*; and the new taxes imposed at *Paris*, and other Cities of *France* upon the Houses belonging to the Kings demaine caused the last yeare great tumults, and popularie commotions; and yet these disorders came not by the King, for he is but a childe, but from the avarice of the Ministers of State, who make Monarchicall Government odious, and are the cause that Kingdomes are rent asunder, and divided at last into small Principalities, or Common-weales. 4. And lastly, The heaue and intollerable imposts laid by the King of *Spain* upon *Portugall, Catalonia*, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sycilia*, hath incited the two first to shake off the *Spanish* yoke; and *Naples* is at this time by a popularie Commotion like to be lost, and then *Sycilia* will presently follow; for the seed of Rebellion is already sowne among them, &c. whereby it appears, that *Machiavels* principle is false, and erroneous; who councelled his Prince to keepe his Subjects low, by taxes and impositions, and to foment divisions among them, that he might use them at his pleasure; for daily experience doth shew, that pluralitie of parties, and grievous Taxes and Impositions are two of the most dangerous motives to overthrow Monarchies and Common-weales, and that unity and moderation in Assessements and taxes, upholds them and makes them to prosper and flourish, &c.

10 *Machiavel* in his
Prince.

CHAP. XXIV.

That it is perilous to change the ancient Government of a State.

11 See *Plutarch* in
Lycurgus
life.
12 See *Plutarch* in his
Ojusianus.

THE ancient and moderne Histories are full of instances, to prove that it is dangerous to change the ancient Government of a State, although it be rather for a better, then for a worse, because use and custome, breeding and education, have a more predominant power over the will and affections of all sensible and rationally creatures, then the instinct of nature. As *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* Legislator made it appear, by the training of a Mastiffe to hunt the Hare, before the Grey-hound that was bred in a kitchine. And it is recorded that *Socrates* was naturally addicted to rigour and cruelty, and yet by his constant habit in philosophy, he became one of the meekest men of his time. Therefore a Nation that hath beene accustomed to a Democraticall government, will not without much difficulty be reduced to obey the Monarchicall Government, although it be reputed by the best Politicians

ans the better, and the more noble Government of the two ; And by consequence, That Nation that hath formerly beene ruled by a well composed Monarchicall Government, will not, without much perill and trouble be brought to obey a Democraticall government, as it shall be proved by instances. 1. The people of *Israel*, after they had by the powerfull hand of God beene brought out of the land of *Egypt*, and did peaceably possesse the land of *Canaan*, were governed, for many yeares by just and religious Judges : but because *Joel* and *Abiah* the sonnes of *Samuel* did not walke in the wayes of their Father, all the Elders of *Israel* came to *Samuel*, and required him to give them a King, x 1 Sam. 8. 2, 5, 6. that they might be governed like their Neighbour Nations ; but this request of theirs was not only distastefull to *Samuel*, but also unto the Lord ; yet notwithstanding, God was pleased to gratifie their request, and commanded *Samuel* to anoint *Saul* for their King, and he having beene elected in a full Assembly of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* by lot, 7 1 Sam. 10, 27. to avoid all factions and partialities, yet there were many children of *Belial* that refused to obey him, and despised the Anointed of the Lord. 2. It was a custome among the ancient *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, to change the government of those Common-weales that they did subdue by Armes, and the *Athenians* made them all Democracies, and the *Lacedemonians* Aristocracies, as their own Common-weales were governed : But these mutations were the cause of many troubles, conspiracies and rebellions at *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Athens*, and in divers other Cities of *Greece*, but especially at *Athens*, where the *Lacedemonians* changed the *Athenian* Democracy into an Aristocracy ; and although it is reputed the better Government of the two, yet it became factious and arbitrary, and did utterly overthrow that flourishing Common-weale. 3. The *Spartian* Common-weale, that had flourished above five hundred yeares, under a just Aristocraticall Government, was utterly overthrowne by *Cleomenes*, who slew the *Ephores*, and the greater part of the Senators, to change the Government ; but he was suddenly driven away, and then that Common-weale fell under the hands of many pety Tyrants, as *Nabis*, and others. 4. The change of the *Roman* Democracy, into an Imperious Monarchy by *Cesar*, caused *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe* to be bathed in blood, and induced *Cesars* friends and familiars to murder him in the midst of the Senate. 5. The change of the Elective Government of the *Empire of Germany*, into a successive and hereditary Monarchy by the house of *Austria*, hath been a greater cause (then the differences in points of Religion) of the continuance

See *Thucydides*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, lib. 3 cap. 9.

See *Plutarch* in the life of *Cleomenes*, and *John Bodin* in his *Common-weale*. See *Iohn Sleidan* *Common-weale*, and the *Sweden* *Souldier*.

of the bloody contentions and desolations that have wasted and consumed *Germany* for many yeares. 6. and lastly, The various changes of Governments that happened in the State of *Florence*, from the days of *Cosmo de Medicis*, untill the dayes of Pope *Leon* the tenth; sometimes that State being changed from an Aristocracy to a Monarchicall Principality; and then againe from a Principality (as it happened after *Peter de Medicis* was driven away from *Florence*) into a Democracy; and then againe changed in the dayes of the said Pope into a Principality, hath been the cause that *Florence*, and *Toscana*, one of the greatest Provinces, and one of the fairest Cities in *Italy*, hath beene the Stage, for many yeares together, of divers bloody Tragedies. To conclude, by these instances, and divers others that might be produced to the same purpose, it is apparent, that it is a very difficult and perilous attempt to change the ancient Government of a State, &c.

e See *Gul-*
chardine,
and the
Historic
of *France*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the danger of Tumults, and Popularie Commotions.

Tumults and Popularie Commotions, are properly compared to a ship set out at sea, without a Rudder, or a Pilate, which is tossed up and down like a Tennis Ball, upon the billows of a tempestuous sea, and at last makes ship-wrack upon the adjacent Coasts. Even so, Tumults and Popularie Commotions, indanger the ship of the Common-weale, and split the same upon a Rock, or swallow it in the quick-sands of a confused Anarchie: Princes, Governours, and Magistrates are therefore to be carefull to suppress all Tumults, and Popularie Commotions at their first rising, as Farmers do crush young Cockatrices in the shell, for otherwise they will prove mortall, and dangerous to the Common-weal, as it shall be proved by instances: 1. In the year of the foundation of *Rome*, 360. there happened a Popularie Commotion, that did indanger the very foundation of that Common-weal, which did arise from the oppression of the Patrician usurers, that did not only seise upon the goods and cattle of their debtors, but also upon their persons, and by a publick decree, got them to be made over to them as slaves, and they made them over to task-masters, that used them rather like beasts then men. This inhumanity inforced many thousands of the Common people to meet in the great market place after a tumultuous manner, and to conspire, and resolve to slay all the chief Magistrates, and then to plunder all the houses of the Noble Patricians. But one *Sicinius*, wiser then the rest, perswaded them to desist from their cruell design, and rather to forsake the City,

d See *Lili-*
us. 1. *De-*
inde lib. 3.

City, and carry away thier Arms, wives, and children, and so accordingly departed, and incamped themselves beyond the river *Anio*, upon the side of a hill, three miles from the City, inforcing the countrie people of the adjacent Townes, by companies they sent abroad, to bring into their Camp all manner of Provisions for their subsistence. But the Senate fearing they would at last plunder the City, if they were not pacified, sent unto them *Meanius Agrippa*, a grave Senator, well beloved of the People for his integrity, and because he was descended of a Plebeian family, to indeavor to perswade them to return, and to compose all differences. He being entred into their Camp, spake to them after this manner ; In the dayes that the members of the body fell at variance with the belly, because it did consume all the victuals that were provided by the Members, they compacted together that the hand should not carry meat to the mouth, nor the mouth, teeth, nor throate execute any more their office; whereby the members of that body became in few dayes so weake and feeble, that they were not able to execute their naturall functions, because the stomack without food could not send the *Chyla* into the *Messentara* veines, & from it convey the same to the liver, that doth naturally turne the same into blood; which being disperfed into the veines, doth give life to all the members by the vitall spirits, that do consist in the blood, and so both belly and members fell into an incurable consumption ; even so, saith he, it will be with you, if you do not reconcile your selves with the Senate, and the noble *Patricians* ; for they are the head and the belly, and you are the members of the politique body of the Common-weale ; you provide by your labour those things which sustaine the body, and they by their meanes, and their wealth, doth concoct the same, and turne it into *Chyla*, and then into blood ; by which all your members are revived by the vitall spirits contained in this blood, and therefore they cannot subsist without you, nor you without them ; be reconciled then like members of one and the same body, otherwise both they and you will fall into an incurable consumption. The people moved and perswaded by this Oration, were willing to returne to the City, provided that upon the next election day, two *Plebeian* Tribunes should be chosen to stand for the Liberties of the people, that they might not for the future be so oppressed; and these Tribunes were called *Sacrum*, and in succession of time came to be six in number, and the most powerfull Magistrates in the Common-weale. 2. In the yeare of our Lord 1525. there fell out a mighty Insurrection and popular commotion in divers places of *Germany*, as

e See Sleidan. lib. 4, 5.

in *Franconia*, *Visttemberge*, *Westphalia*, and *Swabe*, by the pernicious Tenents of *Thomas Muncker*, and his Colleague one *Phifer*, two arch Anabaptists, who by their seditious exhortations caused many thousands of the Commons of *Germany* to rise up in Armes, to suppress the Magistrates, and the Nobility, faining to have revelation from heaven, and that they were the only Saints upon earth; that all goods were to be common, and that men might have as many wives as they pleased, that Magistrates and the Nobility were to be destroyed, as unnecessary in a Common-weale, and that none could claime a just propriety in their lands and goods, but that all was common to the Saints, and such other ridiculous and erroneous tenents, much like to the Levellers of our dayes; and so by these allurements, and carnall liberties, many thousands of the poorest sort of the Yecomondry of *Germany* were deluded, and seduced by these seditious teachers; and being assembled into one body, obliged themselves by oath to live and die together in the defence of their impious cause. They over-ran one Countrey after another, and in this their fury and rage did raze and burne to the ground above two hundred strong holds, Castles, and Noble mens houses, and plundered divers Cities, as *Winsperg*, and *Wircibourge*, and others, and banished and put to the sword the Magistrates of them: and at the City of *Winsperg*, they slew the Earle of *Helfresten*, drove away his Lady and her childe, after they had stripped her of all, and made her travell bare-footed, put all the souldiers of the Garrison to the sword, and roasted one of them alive, with many other incredible cruelties that may be read in *Sleidan*, from page 102. lib. 4. untill page 106. lib. 5. Now to suppress these barbarous proceedings, *John*, Electour of *Saxon*, *Philip* Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Henry*, Duke of *Brunswicke*, and divers other Princes and Noble men of *Germany*, were inforced to associate themselves together, and having raised a great Army, came against them, and neare to a City called *Francuse*, a pitcht battell was fought, in which this Sectary Army was utterly routed and defeated, notwithstanding the ridiculous revelations and prophecies of *Thomas Muncker* their false Prophet, that made them beleieve they should obtaine a glorious victory; but he, after the rout, being fled to *Francuse*, the City was taken by storme, and being miraculously found hidden in a Garret, he was brought to the Duke of *Saxon*, and the other Princes, and after he had been racked, he was beheaded, and his head set up upon a pole in the midst of the Army, as a spectacle of derision, but his partner *Phifer* was slaine in fight. In this battell, and in divers other meetings there was, as

some

some report, a hundred thousand Commons slaine, before this populary commotion could be extinguished, which was the fore-runner of the barbarous proceedings of *Bernard Rotman*, and *John of Leyden*, two other Arch *Anabaptists*, committed in the yeare of our Lord 1535. at *Münster* in *Westphalia*, described in *Sliden*, lib. 10. page 152. till page 156. to which I referre the Reader for brevities sake. 3. The reign of *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, there happened a most turbulent commotion, or rather a populary Anarchy, for it continued neare upon three yeares, which was fomented and raised at the first by the *Guisian* faction, and continued by the Catholick league, and their Emissaries, the sixteene Zelots; for without legall triall they condemned divers honest Citizens to death, and cast in prison divers Magistrates, and among the rest the great Justicier of *France*, *Le President Brisson*, and three or foure Judges of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and without any forme of Justice, condemned the said Justicier, a great Lawyer, and a good Patriot, to be hanged at *Mountfarcon*, the common gallows, and strangled some of the Judges in the prison, and tyrannized over that populous City, divided the same into sixteene parts, over which the sixteene Zelots spoken of were rulers and Captaines, that did plunder and pillage the houses of the richest and best affected Citizens, upon the least surmises and false reports of the most seditious leaguers, or rebels, and kept the City in such awe, that when it was besieged by *Henry* the fourth, their lawfull King, they durst not speake of peace, or accommodation, but were inforced to endure a most cruell famine, that did consume in a short time above fourescore thousand men, women, and children; But God, the avenger of the oppressed, poured downe the vials of his wrath upon these rebels, for these sixteene Zelots, and their seditious crew, perished miserably, some of them by the hands of the hangman, some by the sword, and some out of despaire slew themselves. And lastly, This last yeare there happened a populary commotion at *Naples*, by the grievous impositions, and heavy taxes laid by the *Spaniards* upon the Citizens; the beginning of which was very small, and might easily have beene suppressed, if the Viceroy and the Magistrates had been carefull and diligent to discharge their duty; for a poore fisher man running up and downe the streets, and crying liberty, liberty, gathered about him some twenty sorry fellowes, that might have been taken and carried to prison, but they finding no opposition, their number did increase so suddenly, that when the Viceroy came, they overpowered him, and inforced him to fly into the Castle of the *Ove*, and the

See the
French Hi-
story.

See the
French Re-
lation of
Naples.

whole City being moved with this uproare, hath taken Armes, and hath kept to this day the Viceroy, and *Don Iohn d' Austria*, that is to come to his aid with a great Army, out of the Citie, so that the whole Kingdome of *Naples* is like by this meanes to be freed from the *Spanish* yoke. Many other instances could be produced to prove this point, and especially out of our *English* Chronicles; but because they are familiar to most men, I shall passe them over, and will only observe, that it is the duty of active and faithfull Magistrates, to suppress at their first rising all Tumults, Insurrections, and popular commotions, for if it be not done at the first, they will suddenly take such a head, that they will not be appeased without much blood-shed, and will sometimes cause a mutation in the State, &c.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the dutie of Magistrates.

IF Magistrates would consider that they are Gods Deputies upon Earth, for to execute Justice and Judgement; Injustice, Rapine, and Oppression should not be so familiar among us, as they are in these dayes; or if the law made by *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, against corrupt Magistrates, should be revived, *viz.* to slay them alive, and to nail the skin upon their Tribunall Seate, to serve as a *memorandum* to their Successors, to administer Justice unpartially, we should see Justice flourish and concussion driven out of the Land: Puritie in Religion, and impartiall administration of Justice are the two principall colomnes that support, and preserve a State, as all ancient and moderne Histories do witness; for as soone as these are perverted, and undermined by false ends, and carnall policies, downe falls the structure of the Commonwealth. It is therefore an infallible truth, that conscientious and just Ministers of State, and religious and faithfull Magistrates are the very Aids of Kingdomes and Monarchies; and that it is a speciall blessing of God towards the State, when they are such; and an apparent curse, when they are irreligious, corrupt, and unjust. For the first, they have oftentimes curbed, and mitigated the violent passions of Ambitious Princes, and by their wise and wholesome Councells and admonitions have perswaded them to rule with moderation, and according to the Law of God, of Nature, and of the Realme. But for the second, by the connivences to the irregular will of Princes, have beene the cause that Princes, naturally well inclined, have given themselves over to injustice

h See Herodotus, & Sir Walter Ralegh in his *Cambyses* life.

oppression

oppression, and crueltie, as it shall be proved by Instances. 1. *Burro*, and *Sineca*, Governors and Councillors of the Emperor *Nero*, did gall their consciences, blemish their fame, and injured their Prince and native Countie, by assenting, out of feare, to the murder of *Agrippina* the Emperors mother, after she had escaped the projected shipracks of a double Galley, whereby *Nero* her son thought to have drowned her in the Bay of *Bufole*, neer to the City of *Naples*; whereas they were bound in dutie and conscience to dissuade this young Prince from such an horrid parricide, by the ignominie that it would bring upon his name, and the dangerous consequence it might draw upon the State, and his owne life. And this assent, saith *Tacitus*, did encourage *Nero* to be more impious and cruell then ever he was before; for the respect he bore to the reprehensions of his mother, and to the former admonitions of his Tutor, and Captaine of his guard, being removed, she being made away, and they as guiltie as he in so horrid a crime, made him addict himself to all manner of impietie and Tyrannie. But the pious and wise Councell given to *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, by two of his^{*} Councillors of State, when he propounded unto them to make away *Lewis* the eleventh, King of *France*, that he had by a wile perswaded to come into the Castle of *Perremond*, in which the Duke had a strong garrison, hath made them and their memorie famous for ever, and saved the life of the[†] *French King*, and the honour of their Prince; for they told him, that sith *Lewis* came in upon his word, and upon the confidence he had of the Dukes integritie, so it would be the greatest infidelitie and perjurie in him, to imbrue his hands in the blood of so credulous a Prince, as could not be paralleled. And that *Sextus Pompejus*, a Heathen, that had *Augustus*, and *Lepidus* in his Galley at sea, and in his power, should make him inexcusable before the Tribunall of God, sith he refused to do them any wrong, although he was perswaded to it by the Captaine of the Galley, and yet they were his mortall enemies; but as they came in upon his word, so they returned safe with honour and respect. 2. The carriage of *Papinnianus*, the great Civilian, should be a patterne for all Magistrates, that are required by their Princes to assent to any unjust actions; for the Emperour *Bassianus Caracalla*, having sent a messenger to him, to intreat, he should by a palatise Oration excuse before the Senate, the murder he had lately committed, in killing his brother *Geta* in his mothers armes, out of ambition to raigne alone; answered without feare, that it was easier to commit a parricide, then to excuse the same: upon which the Tyrant being incensed, commanded some of his Guard to kill *Papinnianus*.

* The Lord of *Argentan*.

† See *Philip de Commines*.

† See *Herodotus*, and the Ecclesiasticall Historie.

Papinnianus. *John Bodin* in his *Common-weale* doth blame *Papinnianus* for this answer; but it is unjustly, for in it he did shew his integritie and noble magnanimitie, because the excusing of such an abhorred crime, by him that was the chiefe Magistrate of the Empire, had beene a dangerous president, and an encouragement to the Emperour, and to others, to commit, without scruple or remorse such detestable murders. 3. *Let.* is the eleventh King of *France*, spoken of before, a Prince as much addicted to arbitray courses, as any that ever reigned in that kingdome, *Charles* the ninth excepted, having resolved in his Privy Councell to impose some grievous taxes upon his subjects, sent them ingrossed by some pensioners of his, to the Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, to have been confirmed and ratified, without which ratification, they have not at this very day any compulsive power; The Court having seriously considered upon these Edicts, and finding them to inroach upon the Liberties of the *French*, and the fundamentall Lawes of that kingdome, sent them back againe to the king by Commissioners of their owne, shewing him in an humble manner, that they could not with a safe conscience ratifie these Edicts, because they were contrary to the ancient lawes and constitutions of the State. The King greatly incensed with their answer, sent to them these Edicts by Officers of greater eminency, threatening the Court, that if they did not speedily confirme them, that he would put them all out of their places; whereupon the Court having summoned all their Chambers and Members to meet into one body the next day, and the case being put to the question, it was unanimously resolved upon the negative, and that the grand Justicier, or President, with all the Judges, should the next day reaire to the King in their Parliament Robes, and in all humility represent to his Majesty the reasons that moved them to refuse to ratifie these Edicts; and according to this resolution, the chiefe President, and all the Judges went the next day to Court, and being introduced to the Kings presence, that had then his chief Councillors of State about him; The chief Justicier, called *La Vacquerie*, made an eloquent Oration proving by many Arguments, that the Court could not by their oath confirme these Edicts, because they were contrary to the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome; And therefore if his Majesty was absolutely bent to have them ratified, that they were willing to resigne over their places to his Majesty, rather then they would perjure themselves, or gall their consciences, and so disrobing themselves, laid downe at the Kings feet the badges of their dignities; but the King admiring their integrity, and noble resolution, said unto them

See the
Records
of Parlia-
ment, writ-
ten by
Belleforest.

them, that he would not be deprived of such faithfull Magistrates for the worth of his Kingdome, and so restored them to their places, and caused these Edicts to be cancelled before their faces : And this King was for the future, saith the originall, more carefull to require nothing of them, except it was just, and according to the Lawes of the Realme. And it is likely his Majesty had done the like, if the Lord Keeper, the Judges of the Chancery, of the Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Baronsof the Exchequer, had, with an unanimous consent gone to his Majesty, to represent unto him after an humble manner, the Illegality of the ship money, and of divers other Monopolies newly brought in by his Court Favourites, to the grievous oppression of his loyall subjects, and absolutely contrary to their ancient Liberties, and the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome. But the greater part siding with his Majesty, in hope of preferments, and others out of feare to loose their places, did not discharge a good conscience, nor that trust reposed upon them by their Countrey, as they should have done, some two or three excepted, who for their integrity were abused and despised; and this feare and timorous disposition of our Magistrates, was the cause the King went on in his courses; and hath been certainly the motive of this unnaturall warre of ours. 4. Magistrates are to administer justice impartially, and not to make the Lawes a nose of waxe, to bende the same which way they please, or make them like unto a cobweb net, that catcheth only the small flies, but suffers the great bees to breake through the same. I meane, in executing severe justice upon poor offenders, and conniving at those great ones that have robbed the Common-weale of many thousands, and betrayed the trust reposed upon them by their Countrey. And surely these poor fellows have as good a plea to convince some Magistrates of partiality, as *Demetrius* the Pirate had to convince *Alexander* the Great of his ambition and extortions. For he having been taken at sea by his Navy, as a Pirate, was brought before *Alexander* to be condemned for his Piracies, and being asked by *Alexander* what moved him to rob his subjects at sea, answered, I use this trade (said he) of piracy out of meer want and need, for my father left me nothing to live withall but these two small Brigantines that thy Navy hath taken from me; but *Philip* thy father left unto thee a great Kingdome, and incredible Treasures, and yet thy Navy roves up and downe the seas, and deprives men of their ships and goods, and thou thy selfe with thy land Army bereaves Princes of their Kingdoms and States, to which thou hast no right; Judge then impartially, which is the greatest Pirate

See Plutarch in Alexanders life.

of thee or I? *Alexander* being convinced, and admiring his courage, gave him his life, and upon promise of amendment, made him a Commander in his Navy. 5. Magistrates are not to revive old penalty Statutes, before the Prince hath caused them to be newly proclaimed, and the forfeiture of them is not to be required but from the day they are proclaimed againe; for if they do, they shall not be held to be innocent before the Tribunall of God, sith *Trajan* a *Heathen* Emperour made conscience of it, as a great injustice practised only by *Caligula*, and *Nero*, and to this end gave great charge to *Plinius* his Lieutenant in *Natolia*, to take no fines for the forfeiture of Penalty Statutes, except he had caused them to be newly proclaimed. And nothing did so much blemish the Glory of *Henry* the seventh, King of *England*, that had been reputed a wise and politique Prince, as the permission that he gave towards the latter end of his reigne to *Dudly* and *Empson*, to oppress his subjects, by reviving unexpectedly the old penalty Statutes, that were worm-eaten with age, before they had been proclaimed againe. And as the end of these two caterpillars of the Common-weale was shameful and ignominious, so will the end be of all Magistrates, that will out of avarice to enrich themselves, be the Emissaries of Princes in such illegall courses. 6. Magistrates, in the administration of justice, are rather to encline to mercy then to extream rigour, as *Lewis* the 12th. King of *France* did carry himselfe towards the rebelled *Genovais*; for in his reigne they drove all their Nobility away, changed the Government of their Common-weale, imprisoned and exiled the faithfull Magistrates, and elected a sorry Dyer for their Duke, seized upon the strong holds, and made open warre against the said *Lewis* their Sovereign; and yet his clemency was such towards them, that having with a strong Army taken all their holds, defeated their men of warre, and reduced the City to that extremity, as they were inforced to open the gates, and submit themselves to his mercy, he caused but a few of them to be executed for examples sake, and pardoned the rest, and restored them their priviledges for a fine of one hundred thousand Ducates; whereas the inhumanity of the *Romane* Consul *Fulvius*, towards the Senators of *Capua*, is abhorred to this day; for after the taking of *Capua*, by a long siege, that had revolted from the *Romanes* after the battell of *Cannes*, he pardoned all the common people, but because the greater part of the Senators had been the chief Authours of this rebellion, he caused them to be imprisoned, and to be condemned to loose their heads; but as they were brought forth to be executed, there came a Post with letters from

See Speed
in Henry
the 7th.
life.

See Guichardine in
the life of
Lewis the
twelfth.

the

the *Romane* Senate, charging him to pardon them all, but halfe a score, that had been the ring-leaders of this rebellion: but he mistrusting what the contents of the letters were, would not open them, but put them in his bosome, and caused the execution to go on, and when fourscore of them had lost their lives, and that his fury was asswaged with their blood, he opened the letters, and pardoned those few that remained alive, and for this action he was then, and is now at this day, reputed more cruell then just; for he might, if he had pleased, have saved threescore and ten of them, and yet justice, by the execution of ten for examples sake, had been satisfied. Lastly, Magistrates are not to be over-rash to execute the Orders of their Princes, if they concerne the life of men, because Princes may be misinformed, as the good Emperour *Theodosius* was; for an insurrection being happened in his reign in *Thessalonica*, his Courtiers informed him, that all the Citizens had a hand in the rebellion, and he thereupon gave order to his Lieutenant over-rashly, that he should put all the Inhabitants of it to the sword, which the Lieutenant executed suddainly; but it was afterwards proved, that there was but a very few of the Citizens that had a hand in this insurrection, for which rash Command the Emperour was afterward much grieved and penitent, and to prevent the like for the future, proclaimed through his dominions, that no Lieutenant should for the time to come put in execution the Emperours orders, if they did concerne mens lives, before they had kept them thirty dayes, that they might be repealed, in case the Emperour had been misinformed. Now as this Lieutenant is much blamed for his suddain execution of this cruell decree, so is the moderation of *Petronius*, Lieutenant to the Emperour *Caligula*, greatly commended; for having received a peremptory order from the Emperour, to place in the Temple of *Jerusalem* an Image of gold, he came as farre as *Tiberiada* to execute the same, but finding it could not be done without much blood-shed, and great slaughter of the *Jewes*, because of their zeale to their religion, he did acquaint the Emperour of it by letters, shewing him the danger there was of a generall rebellion of that Nation, if this should be attempted; but before he could receive an answer *Caligula* was slaine by *Cheraz*, &c.

¶ See *Livius* in his 3 *Decade lib. 6.*

¶ See the Ecclesiasticall Historie.

(See *Josephus* in the war of the *Jewes*.)

CHAP. XXVII.

That former services doth not acquit later offences.

Many men in these dayes do so much presume upon the former services they have done for the State, that they care not what evil they commit, because they are confident, that their former services will acquit their later offences; A ridiculous conceit, both in Spirituall and Civill actions, for as it availeth little in the spirituall; to begin in the spirit, if we end in the flesh; even so in civill actions, except we continue in well doing, our former deservings is but an aggravation of our later miscarriages; *Rom*, saith S. *Paul*, that ye may obtaine; for it is to small purpose to run in a race, except we carry away the crown by attaining to the end of the race before another; And because this is a rock upon which many Favorites, States-men, and great Commanders have made shipwrack, I will illustrate the Point by Instances. 1. The elder brother of the three *Oratius*, had wonderfully well deserved of his Countrey; for after his brethren had bene slaine, and that the freedome, or servitude of *Rome* did only rely upon his valour or cowardise, he behaved himselfe so politiquely, and valiantly, that he did not only overcome alone the three *Cuiraces*, but brought also by his victorie the famous City of *Alba*, and all its demaines under the *Romane* yoke. And notwithstanding, having out of passion unadvisedly slain his sister for her unseasonable mourning, he was condemned to lose his life by the Senate, which sentence had bene executed, had he not appealed to the People.

1 Cor. 9.
24.

See Livius in his
1 Decade.
lib. 1.

See Livius in his
1 Decade.
lib. 6.

See Peter
Mansueti in the life of
Henry the
fourth.

2. *Marcus Manlius* had admirable well deserved of his Countrey; for by his valour, watchfulnesse, and activitie, he did rescue the *Romane* Capitole out of the hands of the ancient *Gauls*, and by this rescue preserved the *Romane* Common-weale from utter ruine and desolation; and notwithstanding being afterwards accused, that he did ambitiously aspire to make himselfe a King, and to change the *Romane* Democracie into a Monarchie, he was by the unanimous consent of the Senate, and of the People, throwne headlong downe the steepe rocke *Tarpia*. 3. Never did any *French* man deserve better of his native Countrey then the Duke and Marshall of *Byron*, for his many victories, but specially for the taking of *Amiens* out of the *Spaniards* hands, when the Archduke *Matthias* came with an army of fourtie thousand men to the rescue of it; and notwithstanding being afterwards false from his allegiance by the charmes of the *Spanish* Jesuites, while he was an Embassadour at *Brussels*, for his Sovereigne, *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, he was after his returne convinced

convinced, and condemned for high Treason, by his Peeres, and the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to lose his head upon a Scaffold. 4. And lastly, Who had better deserved of his Countrey then the Noble Earle of *ESSEX*, for his Martiall Expeditions into *France*, into *Portugall*, and to *Cadix*, from whence he came with great honour, and alwayes victorious; & notwithstanding for having unadvisedly entred the City of *London* upon a Sabbath day in an hostile manner, with some threescore horse, to raise a partie, as he said, to awe the power of his enemies, that were then over-predominant at Court, having no intention, as most Writers asseme, to offer any violence to her Majestie, or to raise a warre in the Kingdome, yet he was arraigned and condemned at *Westminster* by his Peeres, to lose his head in the Tower of *London*, for a president to generations to come, that no Subject is to enter the Metropolitan City of the Kingdome in hostile manner, without the speciall warrant of his Sovereigne; And to confirme this Maxime of State, That later offences cannot be acquitted by former services, &c.

See the
life of
Queene
Elizabeth.

CHAP. XXVIII.

*That it is dangerous for a Prince to become the head of a partie
in his owne Dominions.*

IT is dangerous, and a disparagement to a Prince, or to a State, to become the head of a partie in their owne Dominions: for it is safer, and it becomes them better to be Umpires of their Subjects differences, then to be heads of parties; and for want of this observation divers Princes and States have cast themselves into eminent dangers, as it shall be proved by Instances. 1. If the *Romans* Senate had kept their ancient gravitie, and had not abased themselves to become the head of the *Pompeian* partie; it is probable, that they might easily have composed the differences that fell out between *Cesar* and *Pompejus*, by becoming an impartiall Umpire betweene them. But when *Cesar* saw that they gave him order to disband his Army, and commanded *Pompejus* to recruit his Army, he grew jealous that they intended to bring him to a strict account for his former disobedience; and so with an incredible celeritie, came with his Army into *Italy*, & going over the brooke *Rubicon*, which was the partition between his government & that of *Pompejus*, he cried aloud, *The dice is cast*, meaning that he was so far gone, that there was no going back, & that he must either perish, or win the victorie. Where, if the Senate had appointed them Arbitrators to compose their dif-

See *Balin*
in his
Common-
weale. lib.
4.

See *Plutarch*
in
their lives.

ferences as neare as it had beene possible, and reserved to themselves to Umpiers the definitive sentence, they might undoubtedly have given them both content, and have preserved their Common-weale in its ancient Liberties, which was by this contention changed from a Democracie, into an Imperious Monarchie. 2. If the Emperour *Charles* the 5th. had endeavoured as an Umpire, to compose the differences that fell out in *Germanie*, in matters and points of Religion, betwene the Protestants and Papiists Electors of the Empire, he might in all probability have composed their differences without blood shed; but when he became the head of the Popish partie, not out of zeale he bore to the *Romane* Religion, but out of ambition to make the Empire hereditary, Then *Maurice* Duke of *Saxon*, the Marquesse of *Brandebourg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and divers other Protestant Princes of *Germanie*, associated themselves together, and made him flie over the *Alpes* by Torch light. 3. If *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, Kings of *France*, had kept themselves Umpiers in the civill war of *France*, it is apparent, that the differences in points of Religion had beene easily composed: but when the Protestants saw, that they made themselves the heads of the Catholique league, and of the *Guyssian* party, on purpose to disinherit *Henry* the 4th. the lawfull heire of the Crowne, and to extirpate all the *French* Protestants; they associated themselves with the Politiques, and by force of Armes did so traverse their desires, that these three Princes, and the Duke of *Guise* himselfe, came all to a miserable end. 4. And lastly, If *Margaret* Queen of *England*, wife to *Henry* the 6th. had not made her selfe the head of the *Lancastrian* party, after the agreement passed at *Westminster* betwene *Henry* the 6th. and *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and had kept her selfe quiet untill another Parliament might have been called, it is apparent that time might have produced a more prosperous event for the House of *Lancaster*, then her victory, obtained at the battell of *Wakfield*, did bring forth; for in the conclusion it was the cause of the utter overthrow of *Henry* the 6th. her husband, of the death of her hopefull sonne, Prince *Edward*, and of the ruine of the House of *Lancaster*, and of her owne Princes therefore are to be Umpires, and not heads of parties, &c.

CHAP. XXIX.

That Princes are subject to as many changes, as the meanest of their Subjells

THAT Prince is truly wise, that is not exalted in prosperity, nor dejected in adversity: yet of the two, prosperity is the strongest temptation;

c See *Sted-*
den lib. 21.

d See the
Inventorie
of *France*.

e See *Stow*
and *Speel*
in *Henry*
the sixths
life.

temptation; for the constancy of King *David*, a man after Gods owne heart, was never shaken, but once with adversity, but divers times by prosperity. In my ⁶ prosperity (said he) *I shall never be moved, &c.* so much did carnall security prevaile over him, when he was in prosperity. It is recorded, that ⁶ *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, gave charge to one of his Pages, that he should every morning at his rising give him this Memento, Remember, O King, the injuries thou hast received of the *Athenians*: but it had beene a more noble command, if he had charged him to say, Remember, O King, what thou art to day, and what thou mayest be to morrow; for the first favoured too much of pride and vindication, but the last would have been a signe of humility and moderation, and that he had been sensible of the vicissitude of all things under the Sunne; to which mutability Princes are as much subject as the meanest of their subjects, as it shall be proved by instances. 1. ⁶ *Cresus* King of *Lydia*, being in the highest degree of his prosperity, did unadvisedly proclaime warre against *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, by whom he was in one day deprived of his Kingdome, and of his incredible Treasures, and besides, condemned by *Cyrus* to be burned for his presumption; But as he was at the stake, he cryed out *Solon, Solon*, If I had followed thy counsell, I should not be at this present in this misery. *Cyrus* desiring to know why he called thus for *Solon*, caused him to be brought before him, and did aske him the reason of it; when I was, said he, O King, in my greatest prosperity, *Solon* gave me warning I should not confide in it, and not thinke my selfe happy, till I had runned out my race, because private men and Princes were equally subject to mutations, as I finde by experience at this day; *Cyrus* being moved with his speeches, and with the unexpected change of this great King, gave him his life, and made him his Lieutenant in *Sardis*. 2. ⁶ *Cyrus* himselfe could make no use of this councill or president false out before his eyes, but some time after, relying over-much upon his valour and power, waged warre against the *Scythians*, and there was taken in an ambush, and his head being stricken off, it was by the commandement of a *Scythian* Queen cast into a silver bason full of blood, she saying in derision, *Drink thy fill of that blood that thou hast in thy life time took delight to spill.* 3. ⁶ *Manasseh*, *Jehoiachin*, and *Zedekiah*, all of them Kings of *Judah*, were deprived of their Kingdomes, and carried into captivitie by the King of *Babylon*. 4. ⁶ *Belshazzar*, grand childe to *Nebuchadnezzar*, by a just retaliation of Gods justice, was suddenly deprived of his life and Empire, in that very night that he was drinking in the Vessels of gold, brought by his Grandfather

Psalm 30.

Plutarch in Artaxerxes life.

See Herodotus in the life of Cyrus.

Herodian in the Scythians war.

2 Kings 33:34.

1. *Quintus*
Quintus in
Alexander
life.

4

m See the
Ecclesi-
sticall Hi-
storie.

n See the
Turkish
Historie
in *Bajazeth*
his life.

o See the
Historie
of *France*
in his life,
the 39^a.
King of
France.

p See the
Inventory
of *France*
in this
Charles his
life, the
32. King
of *France*.
q See *Gab-*
rieldine
in the war
of *Italy*.

r See Sir
Walter Ra-
leigh in his
Preface.

(See *Item*
and *Specks*
Chroni-
cles.

out of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, with his wives, Princes, and Concu-
bines, by *Darius* and *Cyrus*, Kings of the *Medes* and *Persians*. 5. *Darius*
the last King of *Persia*, was deprived of his Kingdome, and of his incre-
dible treasures, by *Alexander* the great, and was brought to that extre-
mitie in his sight, that he was inforced to begge a cup of water of a
poore souldier to satishe his thirst; and then was perfidiously murdered
by one of his owne Subjects, as he fled into the upper *Asia*. 6. The
Emperour *Valerianus* was taken prisoner by *Saporez* King of *Persia*, and
inforced to serve as a foot stoole for that Tyrant to get up on horse-
backe. And the like hapned to *Bajazeth* the first Emperour of the
Turks, for *Tamberlaine* defeated his Army, consisting of three hundred
thousand men; and having taken him prisoner, cast him into an Iron
Cage, and made of him his foot-stoole to get up on horseback; but *Ba-*
jazeth to free himself of this slavery struck out his braines against the bar
of his iron Cage. 7. *Charles* the second, called *Le Gros*, Emperour of
Germanie, and King of *France*, was deposed of the Empire, and of his
Kingdom of *France*, and died in great want, and misery, in an obscure
Village of *Swabs* in *Germanie*. 8. *Charles* the third King of *France*,
was deposed of his Kingdome, by *Raoul* his kinsman, and Governour of
Burgundie, and after he had for five yeares together beene removed
from one prison to another, dyed of sorrow and griefe. 9. *Lodowick*
Sfforce Duke of *Milan*, that was in his dayes the Umpire of all the diffe-
rences that hapned betweene the States and the Princes of *Italy*,
was, notwithstanding all his Machiavilian policies taken in a dis-
guised habit, like a *Swizzer*, as he went out of *Navarre*, and sent
prisoner into *France* by *Lewis* the 12th. where he ended his dayes.
10. *Alphonse*, and *Ferdinand*, Kings of *Naples*, were exiled and
deprived of their Kingdome, by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*,
and the last restored againe by the mutable events of warre. 11. *Charles*
the fifth, Emperour of *Germanie*, and King of *Spaine*, and the great-
est Prince of Christendome in his dayes, came to be so dispised of
his servants, by his voluntarie resignation of his Dominions to his son
Philip King of *Spaine*, that for want of attendance, he was inforced to
light downe the staires, *Seldius* the Embassadour of his brother *Ferdin-*
and, King of the *Romans*, that was come to visite him upon an evening,
as he laid at *Flushing* for a winde to return into *Spaine*. 12. And lastly,
The lumentable end of *Edward* the second, of *Richard* the second, and
of *Henry* the sixth, Kings of *England*, that were deprived of their lives
and Kingdome, by their competitors, should be a strong motive to

Princes,

Princes, to induce them to meditate sometimes upon the changes and adversities they are subject unto, as well as the meanest of their Subjects, and to move them to carry themselves in their prosperitie, lovingly, and justly towards their Subjects, &c.

CHAP. XXX.

That severitie is more commendable in a Prince, then lenitie.

Princes as well as others, are subject to humane infirmities, some are over severe, and others too indulgent; yet of the two, it is more commendable in the Prince, and more honorable for the Kingdome, to be rather severe, then indulgent: for in all sorts of governments, severitie is safer then lenitie; I will then prove, and illustrate the point by instances. 1. *Francis* the first, King of *France*, towards the later end of his raigne, was held to be by the *French* Nobilitie, over austere; for the *French* humour is, to be all fellowes at football, and they do not carry that reverence to their Princes as other Nations do; but as they carrie themselves towards their Princes, even so doth their servants carrie themselves towards them; but his austeritie did not proceed from want of love and affection to his Subjects, for he spent his dayes in continuall wars for their safetie and welfare; but from the multiplicite of affaires, having *Charles* the fifth, Emperour and King of *Spaine*, and *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, two great and potent Princes to wrastle withall, that kept him in employment in *Italy*, *Flanders*, and *Picardie*; yet they found after his death, that his austeritie was more honorable to them, and more profitable to the whole Kingdome, then was the courteous affabilitie of *Henry* the second, his Sonne, that was, saith the Originall, of so kinde a disposition, that he could not denie any Petitions, although they were prejudiciall to himself, and to the whole Kingdom. For *Francis* did not only keep entire his own Dominions, but did also greatly enlarge them, for he reduced under his obedience *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*, the Island of *Corse*, and the greater part of *Lumbardia*, to the very gates of *Milan*, and at his death left in his Exchequer, one million, and seven hundred thousand *French* Crownes, and our Ladies Quarters rent to receive, & his Kingdom free from debt, and besides, in a most flourishing condition, abounding in ammunitions of war, in great Commanders, and learned men, and the City full of wealth & riches. But *Henry* the second, his Son, by his lenitie, and prodigall affabilitie, consumed these Treasures left by his father, lost the strong holds he had in

See the
Historie
of France.

M

Lumbardia,

Lombardia, and to redeeme his Favorite, the Duke of *Montmorancie*, Constable of *France*, that had beene taken prisoner at the battell of *St. Quintin*, married his daughter with the Duke of *Savoy*, and did surrender unto him *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*; and in twelve yeares that he reigned, left the Kingdome in debt fortie two millions of *French* Crownes, and the State full of civill divisions, that had like in his three Sonnes raigne to overthrow the same. 2. The valour and severitie of *Henry* the fifth, King of *England*, was more honorable and profitable to this Kingdome, then the soft and good disposition of his Sonne, *Henry* the sixth; for by *Henry* fifth's valour, with the aide of his Nobles, and of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, he wonne out of the *Frenches* hands, all his former transmarine Dominions, and caused his Sonne, *Henry* the sixth to be crowned as King of *France* in *Paris*; But *Henry* the sixth, by his lenitie, after the death of his two Uncles, the Duke of *Bedford*, and *Somerset*, lost all that his father had won in *France*; and besides gave courage to *Richard*, Duke of *York*, to declare himselfe competitor to his Crowne; and by the meanes of a great partie that he raised, inforced the said *Henry*, at a Parliament held at *Westminster*, to disinherit his own Sonne, *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, which caused afterwards the most bloody warre that ever was in *England*, and the death of the said King, with the ruine of the House of *Lancaster*. 3. The Effeminate life of the Emperour *Commodus*, the concussion of *Didius Iulianus*, and the lascivious and voluptuous carriage of *Heliogabalus*, and divers other such effeminate Emperours, brought the Empire of *Rome* to the brimme of destruction, and had utterly overthrownt the same, if the austeritie of *Elvius Pertinax*, and the severitie of *Septimius Severus*, and *Alexander Severus*, had not restored the same to its splendour and glory. 4. And lastly, The effeminate and lascivious lives of the three last brethren of the House of *Valois*; *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, Kings of *France*, with the ambition of the *Guysson* faction, had reduced the populous Kingdome of *France* to the lowest ebbe, and the most miserable condition that ever it had beene in, since *Hugues Capet*, the first King of this last race, and had utterly rent the same in peices, or divided the same into Cantons, or small Common-weales, as the *Switzers*, and *Grisons* are at this day, if the valour and the austeritie of *Henry* the fourth, of the House of *Burbon*, and *Lewis* the thirteenth, his Son, had not restored the same in its former glory, and enlarged the same by the providence of God, beyond all humane expectation: By which Instances it is apparent, that austere and valourous Princes are greatly

* See the
Chroni-
cles of
England.

* See *Dion*
and *Hero-*
dian of the
Romane
Emperors
lives.

y See the
Inventorie
of *France*.

to be preferred before those of a soft, and over-gentle disposition, &c.

CHAP. XXXI.

That Favorites should prefer the feare of God before the favour of their Princes.

Divers Favourites have made shipwrack at Court of their lives and estates, by assenting against their consciences to the unjust commands of their Princes: because they did preferre the favour of their Princes, and their own preferments, before the feare of God; this shall be proved by instances. 1. *Lucius Piso*, a favourite of the Emperour *Tiberius*, and his Lieutenant in *Asia*, was commanded by his Lord to make away *Germanicus*, neare kinsman to *Tiberius*, by a lingering poyson, that his death might the better be obscured. *Piso* out of feare to incurre the displeasure of his Prince, and to lose his place, caused a lingering poyson to be administred to *Germanicus* at a feast, that did consume his body by degrees, and did at last cast him into an incurable consumption, and so brought him within a yeare to his grave; *Agrippina* his beloved wife, and some of his intimate friends, being jealous that he had been poysoned by *Piso*, caused his body to be opened by learned Physicians, whereupon divers symptomes appearing within, and without his body, did assure them that *Germanicus* had been poysoned; whereupon they returned with all speed to *Rome*, and accused *Piso* of this murder before the Emperour and the Senate. *Tiberius* knowing that it had been committed by his order, did endeavour to retard the course of justice as long as he could, but being inforced by the great importunity of the Senate, and of the people, a warrant was sent to *Piso* to come to *Rome*, and to answer to the impeachment of *Agrippina*; and he being returned, was convinced and condemned in open Senate to lose his head for this murder: not daring to produce before the Senate, the warrant he had for it under *Tiberius* own hand, for feare that he would under colour of justice, deprive his children of his lands and treasures, that were very great. 2. *Don Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State to *Philip* the second, King of *Spaine*, preferring the favour of his Prince, and his owne preferments, before the feare of God, and a good conscience; did upon the Kings command assent to make away the Secretary of *Don John* of *Austria*, called *l'Escoveto*, because the King suspected him to have given to his Lord some dangerous counsell against

See Tacitus lib. 1.

a See the
Spanish
Historic
in Philip
the seconds
life.

the Crowne of *Spain*. And for prooffe that the said *Perez* did assent to it against his conscience, the originall history records, that he did beseech the King divers times to desist from so abhorred a murder, alleging, that his Majesty had many other meanes to deprive *Don John* of the subtile counsels of this Secretary, by sending him from Court, as an Ambassadour to forraigne Princes, or upon some honourable Commission into the *West-Indies*: but these Christian admonitions could not prevaile, *Philip*, it seemes, desiring out of vindication to have his life, and so charged *Perez* upon his displeasure to make him away; and so *Perez* hired halfe a dozen of Russians, that slew him in an evening in the street, as he was returning from the Court to his own lodging: yet this murder was not so closely carried, but that *Perez* was suspected to have a hand in it, although the murderers escaped, and were never heard of; but information was given, that they had been seen to frequent, or go in and out of *Perez* house, which information moved the parents and kinsmen of *l'Escoveto*, (some of which were of the *Grandees of Spain*,) to be very earnest with the King to have *Perez* come to his triall, accusing him confidently of the murder; but the King by delays did endeavour to retard the execution of justice, so long, till he began to be suspected to be the chiefe authour of the murder; this suspicion being reported to the King, he charged *Perez* to absent himselfe from Court for some time, and withdraw himselfe to *Sarragosse*, the Metropolitane of *Arragon*, untill this storme were past, and that he should not feare, for he would stand to him, and cause him to returne with greater honour and preferment then ever he had before; but *Perez* was no sooner come to *Sarragosse*, but he was arrested and cast into prison, and that by a warrant signed with the Kings own hand; but presently after the King sent his owne Confessor to comfort him, and to bid him be of good cheare, and assure him, that he had done this to content the parents of *l'Escoveto*, but he would shortly cause the Grand Justicier of *Arragon* to cleare him in open Court; yet said the Confessor, there is one thing that doth much trouble the King, and that is the warrant you have under his hand for the death of *l'Escoveto*, which he intreats you to send him back againe, out of feare that you will unadvisedly shew the same, to cleare your selfe, and by this meanes blemish the Kings reputation for ever: and so the Confessor, with insinuating arguments perswaded *Perez* to send back this warrant to the King, pawning his soule for the good intentions of the King towards him, and that he would forthwith deliver him out of these troubles, and restore him to greater honours then

then before. Upon these protestations *Perez* did deliver his warrant, and the Confessor did carry the same to the King, that tore the same in peeces, and presently gave order to the Grand Justicier of *Arragon* to proceed criminally against *Perez*, and so he was convinced, and condemned to lose his head for this murder, in the market place of *Sarragosse*, which sentence had been executed the next day, if his loving wife had not preferred his life before her own; for having appalled her selfe in mourning weeds, and cast a great black vaile over her face, she went the evening before *Perez* was to be executed, to take her last leave of him, having a man attending upon her, and she being come to the prison, was let into her husbands chamber, and after some conference together, she disvested her apparell, and put on her husbands, and he hers, and so passed through the Guards undiscovered, and fled that night away into *France*, to *Henry* the fourth, that gave him an honourable entertainment all his life time. 3. ^b *Charles* the Dolphine, that was afterwards King of *France*, and the seventh of that name, being obstinately bent to vindicate the death of his Uncle, the Duke of *Orleans*, (that had been murdered by *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, in the streets of *Paris*, as he was returning in an evening from the Court to his owne Palace,) acquainted eight young favourites of his designe, who procured a parly between him and the Duke, to be kept upon a wooden bridge, erected for that purpose, over the river *Toen*, having only a barrier in the midst of it, for the Dolphine and the Duke to leane upon; and as they were in conference together, the said favourites rushed in, and slew the Duke of *Burgundy*, and withdrew themselves in safety; whereupon *Philip* his sonne, Duke of *Burgundy*, and the second of that name, to vindicate his fathers death, invited the *English* into *France*, to recover their transmarine dominions; and so *Henry* the fifth, and the said *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* joyning their forces together, continued a most bloody warre in *France* for many yeares, and brought that Kingdom to the brim of destruction. But *Henry* the fifth being departed this life, and *Charles* the Dolphine having succeeded his father *Charles* the Phrenitique; the *English*, by the wisdom and valour of the Duke of *Bedford*, and of *Sommerfet*, made good their station for a time, but after their death all things went to wrack for the *English* in *France*; and the *French* Statesmen taking the occasion by the haire, perswaded their young King *Charles* to reconcile himselfe with the Duke of *Burgundy*, as the only meanes to drive the *English* out of *France*, *Charles* being then as wise as he had been rash in his youth, did hearken to their coun-

^b See the Inventorie of *France* in *Charles* the seventh's life.

^c See *Gerard*, Sir du *Hailan* in his Historie of *France*.

cell, and sent two of the chiefest of them to his Cousen of *Burgundy*, as his Embassadors, to perswade him to come to a composeure of their differences. *Philip* being weary of the warre, and considering that the *English* Affaires were in the declining hand, answered, that he was willing to come to a Treaty of reconciliation, so that King *Charles* would deliver into the hands of justice those favourites of his, that had murdered his father; and told the Embassadors, that if their King would only grant this article, that he made no question, but they should suddainly compose their differences in love: and that if he were so contented, he should appoint a place for the Treaty, and that he would not faile to meet his Majesty. This being reported to the King, he assented to it, and appointed a place for the Treaty, upon a wooden bridge, over another river, having a strong Barriere, and a Percullis besides, to prevent the like inconveniency happened before; where the King and the Duke being met, all their differences were agreed upon, provided that justice should be done upon those favourites, which was granted by the King, so that six of them lost their heads for it, and the other two having had intelligence of the agreement, by some confident friends they had at Court, fled out of the Realme, and came not back till after the death of the Duke of *Burgundy*. 4. And lastly, *Henry* the second, King of *England*, being informed, when he was in *Normandy*, of the misdeameanour of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, spake unadvisedly these words, Lord, shall I never be rid of this troublesome Prelate; Now Sir *William Tracy*, *Hugh Brito*, and *Richard Fitz*, Knights, and favourites to the King, being present at the speaking of these words, did imagine that it would be an acceptable service to the King, if the said Archbishop were made away, and hereupon having conferred together, posted over into *England*, and did murder the said *Thomas Becket* in his Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*; But the King hearing of it, disclaimed the act, and cursed their fury, because it was fierce; and in lieu of honours and rewards they hoped to receive from the King, they were inforced to fly into the North, and to obskure themselves in *Knaresborough* Castle, &c. It may then be observed by these instances, that States-men and Favourites are to preferre the feare of God, and a good conscience, before the favour of their Princes, and rather hazard to lose their places, then to assent to any unjust action; for if ever it come to be disclosed, their life must pay for it, to palliate the guilt of the Prince; and suppose it be not disclosed, yet in lieu to be honoured and preferred by the Prince, they will be by him abhorred, and be racked in their con-

d See *Stem*
and *Speed*
in the
Chroni-
cles of
England.

sciences

sciences in this life, and without a speciall mercy of God, be damned in the life to come, &c.

CHAP. XXXII.

That places of honour and trust should be annuall.

IN the Aristocraticall Common-weale of *Raguse*, the chiefeſts Magiſtrates, Commanders, and Senators are changed every yeare; and remaine a whole yeare without any publique employement: the reaſons they have for it, are theſe. 1. Becauſe all men of wiſdome, valour, and learning, may by order and degrees be promoted to places of dignity and truſt, which doth, ſay they, incourage men of what degree ſoeuer, to endeavour to out-goe others in vertue and merit, ſith the doore of honour and preferment is open to all indifferently, if they excell others in naturall, and acquired parts. 2. Becauſe they conceive it dangerous for their Common-weale to continue men long in places of power and authority, for all men are naturally ambitious, and ſelf-ſeekers; and power and authority is ſo ſweet and pleaſant to ambitious ſpirits, that when they are raiſed to it, they can hardly endure to be commanded by others, but will make this power and authority perpetuall, if they can; but when they are aſſured they muſt reſigne their places at the yeares end to another, they carry themſelves with moderation, and are more wary to offend, injure, or oppreſſe any man, for feare they be called to an accompt for their miſdemeanours when their year is out. 3. Becauſe thoſe that are continued long in places of power and authority, become at laſt lawleſſe, by making their party ſo ſtrong, that it is in vaine for thoſe they injure, offend, and oppreſſe, to complaine, or require redreſſe, for they cannot be heard; or if they be, yet they ſhall be found innocent, and the oppreſſed ſhall be adjudged the Agreſſours. 4. And laſtly, Becauſe thoſe that are continued long in places of power and authority, are apt to inſeize upon the liberties of their native Countrey, and to bring thoſe under their ſubjection, that raiſed them to that power; And therefore it was a wiſe counſell that *Mamercus* *Æmilium* gave to the *Romane* Senate, to make all the places of honour and truſt annuall; for ſaith he, the ſafety of the Common-wealth doth conſiſt in the ſhort continuance of places that are of power and authority; and that is the reaſon ſaith he, now I am a Dictator, why I have reduced your Cenſors place, that was to continue five yeares, to a yeare and a halfe. But becauſe this point is of great concernment, I will illuſtrate the ſame by inſtances.

See Bodin and Contriv in their Common-weale,

See Livy. 1. Decade, lib. 2.

g See Li-
vius. 1. De
cade. lib. 3.

b See Sir
Walley
Rawleigh.
lib. 2.
i See Pla-
sarch in his
life, and
Cæsar's
Commen-
tarie.

stances. 1. The *Romane* Common-weale did never flourish with greater number of wise Senators, and valarous Commanders, then it did in the dayes of *Papirius Cursor*, when the doore of honour and preferment was open to the *Plebeians*, as well as to the *Patricians*, in case they were men of merit. 2. The *Decem-vires* that were chosen to governe the *Romane* Common-weale for a yeare, found power and authority so sweet, that they retained the Supreme power of the State by violence three yeares, and had made their authority perpetuall, if their tyrannie had not inforced the people to rise all as one man to suppress them, and free themselves from the servitude they were under. 3. The thirty Rulers of *Athen*, will verifie, that no redresse can be had for rapines and oppressions, when men are continued long in places of power and authority; what redresse had honest *Theraments* for pleading for the innocency of the thirty oppressed *Athenian* Citizens? but a cup of poison to make him their Advocate in the other world. 4. And lastly, The continuation of *Cæsar* seven yeares one after another in his government of *France*, gave him meanes by the great treasures he woone in that Kingdome, to corrupt the *Plebeian Tribunes*, and divers Senators, whereby his place was continued contrary to the *Romane* Lawes, and so made his party so strong in the City, and in the Army, that *Pompeius*, nor the whole Senate could not raise a sufficient power to oppose him, when he came with his Army into *Italy*, but were inforced to fly beyond the seas, and expose the City of *Rome* to the mercy of him and his Army; And having entred the same without controle, deprived his native Countrey of its ancient liberties, and changed the *Romane* Democracy into an Imperious Monarchy. But some will object, that divers Princes and States have received great services, by continuing States-men and Commanders in their places of power and authority; I grant it, but as we are not to conceive that the Spring is at hand, by the coming of one Swallow; even so, we are not to conclude, that it is safer for a Prince, or a State to continue men long in places of power and authority, because a few have acquitted themselves faithfully and conscientiously in their places; but we are to compare which of the two have excelled the other in number, & which way the byas of humane inclinations are most naturally bent. Now it is most certain, that for one just and conscientious man, there is ten wicked; and that for one pious & religious man, there are ten profane & impious; even so, if we peruse without partiality the ancient & moderne Histories, we shall find that for one States-man or Commander that hath conscientiously discharged his place, if they have been

long

long continued in the same, that ten out of ambition and selfe-ends have abused the trust reposed upon them. As it shall be proved by instances. 1. Among the *Romanes*, *Publius Scipio*, and *Marcus Agrippa* were continued in their places longer then it was permitted by the *Roman Lawes*, and discharged their places faithfully; but *Marinus*, *Sylla*, and *Livius Caesar*, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, *Augustus*, *Elius*, *Sejanus*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and a hundred more did abuse their trust. 2. Among the *Spaniards*, *Cardinall Ximenez*, and *Gonsalves*, the great Captaine, were faithfull in their places, but the Governour of *Mexico*, and of *Bern*, and of *Tunis*, the Duke d' *Alva*, *Don John d' Austria*, and divers others did betray their trust. 3. Among the *French*, the Constable *Guesclin*, and the Cardinall, d' *Richelieu*, did good services to their Princes, the first to *Charles* the fifth, and the last to *Lewis* the thirteenth, Kings of *France*, but by the continuance of *Pepin* in his place of high Constable of *France*, *Childerick* the fourth, was deposed, and the long continuance of *Hugues Capet* in the same place was the cause that *Charles* of *Lorraine* was put by the Crowne, and the Cardinall d' *Amboise*, the Duke de *Guise*, and the Duke de *Byron*, did abuse of their places, by their long continuance therein. And among the *English*, the Lord *William Burleigh*, high Treasurer of *England*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, in the dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, did with much honour, and good conscience discharge their places; but the long continuance of the Militia of *England*, in the hands of *Herald*, under *Edward* the Confessour, gave him meanes to usurpe the Crowne, and to deprive *Edgar Athelings* of his right; and the long continuance of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and of the Earle of *Strafford* in their places of power and authority, gave them meanes to abuse their trust, and to be the first Incendiaries of this late unnaturall warre of ours. Out of these instances, and many others that could be produced to the same purpose, it may be observed, That it is safer for a Prince or State, to make all places of honour and trust annuall, and forraigne governments bienniall, to prevent the inconveniences incident to the long continuance of places. And the miserable end of the Emperour *Tiberius*, who above all other Princes did continue his favourites in their places, should induce Princes from insilling in that course, for although he escaped the plot of *Sejanus*, yet *Macro* smothered him in his bed, who he had continued so long in his place, &c.

See *Apian*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Uin*, and *Livius*.

See the Historie of the West Indies, and the Spanish Historie.

See the Invenories of *France*.

See *Stow* and *Speeds* Chronicles.

See *Tacitus* in the death of *Tiberius*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That Plurality of parties are the cause of the overthrow of a State.

¶ Marke
3. 24.

¶ Rom. 15.

33.

¶ Mark.

3. 9.

¶ 2 Sam.

16. 22.

¶ See Livy
3. Decade.

¶ See Plutarch in
their lives.

¶ See the
Turkish
Historie.

¶ See Sleiden's Com-
mon-
weale.

¶ See Gul-
chardine.

¶ See the
Inventory
of France.

A Kingdom^e divided against it selfe cannot stand, saith our blessed Sa-
viour. It was therefore a devilish counsell that *Machiavel* gave to
his Prince, that he should foment divisions among his subjects, that he
might the better tyrannize over them; for Satan is the Prince of divisi-
on and discord, and, *God is the God of peace and unity. And so by
consequence, those that love peace are the children of God, *Blessed are
the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God; and those
that love contention, and foment divisions in a State, are the children of
Satan, for by him we were divided from God, and by Christ reconciled
to God againe. And the counsell that *Achisophel gave to Absolon, viz.
to go into his fathers Concubines in the sight of the Sun, and of all Israel,
was also a devilish counsell, forged and hatched in hell: for it tended to
make a perpetuall and irreconcilable division betweene the father and
the sonne. And by these very Imps of Satan, I mean the *Achisophels* and
Machiavilians of these dayes, hath our unnaturall divisions been fomen-
ted these seven yeares, and will continue longer, if God in his mercy
doth not send the spirit of unity and peace among us, and banish the
spirit of strife and contention out of the Land. I will then prove by in-
stances, that divisions and pluralities of Parties, hath been in all Ages
the cause of the overthrow of Common-weales and Monarchies. 1. The
Parties of *Hano, and of *Amilicar*, was the overthrow of *Carthage*.
2. The **Casarian*, and the *Pompejan* Parties were the cause of the over-
throw of the Common-weale of *Rome*. 3. The divisions and plurali-
ties of Parties among the **Greekes*, was the cause of the overthrow of
the Empire of *Constantinople*. 4. The contentions betweene the *Hun-*
garians, and *Bulgarians*: invited the *Turkes* into *Hungaria*. 5. The
divisions between the Papists and the Protestants in **Germany*, brought
Soliman to the very gates of *Vienna*. 6. The two Parties of the **Guelphs*
and *Geberlins* in *Italy*, caused a deluge of blood to overflow the streets
of the fairest Cities of it. 7. The three Parties that raged so long in
France, viz. the **Royalist*, the *Politique*, and the *Catholique* league,
brought that flourishing Kingdome to the brim of destruction. 8. The
York, and the *LANCASTRIAN* Party, wasted the two third parts of the
Nobility

Nobility^a of England, and above six hundred thousand Commiſſioners. ^b See *Stow* and *Speeds* *Chronicles*.
 9. The diviſions in *Germany* between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants, that have now continued above thirty yeares, have conſumed above a million of men, and made a great part of that rich Countrey deſolate, and uninhabited. 10. Our late unnaturall contentions have in a manner brought *Ireland* to penury, undone *England*, and waſted *Scotland*.
 Laſtly, The City of *London*, that was famous through all *Chriſtendome* for wealth and trading, is by pluralities of Parties fallen from its ancient glory, and is like to become, if God in his mercy be not gracious to it, as deſolate as *Jeruſalem* was in the dayes of the Emperour *Tirius*; If the differences of theſe parties be not compoſed by a Chriſtian and charitable way, and the affections of the people reunited, that have been rent aſunder by this unnaturall warre, &c.

^c See the late Relations of *Germany*.

^d See *Foſter* in the war of the *Jews*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

That the Judgements and the Affections of men are to be reunited, to procure a firme and well-grounded Peace.

BECAUSE there can be no hope of peace, nor of any ſolid ſettlement of the worſhip of God, before the affections and judgements of men are reunited, that have been rent aſunder by this late unnaturall warre, and by the variety of opinions in points of religion, that are crept into the Church, during our civill contentions. I conceive it convenient to ſpeake of it, before I come to treat of peace, or the ſettlement of the diſcipline of the Church. Now among all other links and bonds, that linke and unite mens affections together, there is none more powerfull to make men live in peace and unity, then to be of one minde and judgement in points of religion, and to have a publique uniformity in the government of the Church. And I am perſwaded, that the only way to reunite the affections, and rectifie the judgements of men, and to obtaine ſuddenly a firme and well grounded peace, is to compoſe, by a loving and Chriſtian way, the ſpiritual differences that are between the Independents, the Presbyterians, and the Prelaticall, concerning the diſcipline and government of the Church. And ſith they all three agree in the fundamentall points of religion, and in the Orthodox Analogy of faith, and differ only in the diſcipline of the Church, which imports little to the ſalvation of mens ſoules, but doth only

uphold a reverend decency in the worship of God, and unites or links mens affections together. I see no reall cause why any of them should not desire a reconciliation, that these factious names, which soment three severall parties in this City and Kingdome, might for ever be buried in the grave of oblivion, and by a brother-like reconciliation be called the reformed Protestants. And certainly, if every one of them would be pleased to deny themselves, their passions, and private interests, this great and only necessary worke would by Gods favour and blessing be suddenly finished, so the Honourable Houses would be pleased to summon and command ten of the most meeke and learned Ministers of every one of these three Parties, (that would amount to the number of thirty in all) to meeete, advise, consult, and resolve upon such a discipline and government of the Church, as might give them all satisfaction, and yet be agreeable and sutable to the word of God; which being ratified, and confirmed by the Honourable Houses of Parliament, to give the same a compulsive power, might be published, and proclaimed, to the great joy, and satisfaction of the whole Kingdome, and to the great promotion of the Gospell, and the increase of the Honour and Glory of God. The reason why I propound so small a number, is to expedite the worke, for multiplicity of Councellours, in all Councels, and of Clergie-men in Nationall Synods and Councels, doth but only spinne out the time, and seldome cause the resolutions to be safer, or the decrees more sound and Orthodox. And to move them to this brotherly reconciliation, let them consider of these motives, and divers others of the same nature, indicted by the Spirit of God. *Behold (saith the Prophet David) how good and comely a thing it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity, &c. And We know (saith Saint John) that we are translated from death unto life, because we love the brethren, &c. And he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death, and whosoever hateth his brother, is a man-slayer, &c.*

e Psal. 133.

f 1 Ioh. 3.

14.

g 1 Ioh. 3.

15.

CHAP. XXXV.

That hard conditions of Peace are seldome kept.

ALL the Ancient and the Moderne Histories do witnesse this to be an infallible truth; That hard conditions of Peace are never kept: And it is the reason why the best Politicians are of opinion, That it is safer

fer to make no peace at all, except the conditions be just and equal. for otherwise the peace will be of no continuance, as it shall be proved by Instances. 1. The *Romane Legions*, led by *T. Veturius*, and *Sempronius Posthumus*, were brought by a stratageme of warre into the straites of *Candium*, where they were enforced to come to a Treatie of Peace with the *Samnites*, their enemies; that had encompassed them: *Pontius*, Generall of the *Samnites*, sent a messenger to *Hirennius* his father, a wise Senator, to be advised what he should do, now he had the *Roman Army* in his power; his father sent him word, that he should set them all at libertie, without any conditions at all; and besides, should provide them with all necessary provisions, sith they were in a manner famished, untill they came to their owne borders; for by this favour, said he, you will oblige the *Romans* to be for ever your faithfull friends and allies. But this wholesome counsell being unpleasant to this young Generall, he sent againe to his father to be better advised; whereupon his father sent him word, that since he would not follow his first counsell, which he held to be the best, that he should then put them all to the sword, and not spare a man of them, for by these meanes our Common-weale will be secured from the *Roman* warre this thirtie yeares; but this counsell did not also please him, but imposed these hard and ignominious conditions upon the *Roman Army*. 1. That they should yeeld up their Armes. 2. All their carriages & ammunitions 3. That they should all passe under the yoke, as an acknowledgement of their servitude. 4. That they should leave sixe hundred Hostages in the *Samnites* hands, of their chiefe Knights and Officers, untill the Articles of Peace agreed upon, should be signed and ratified by the *Roman Senate*, and the People. And to these hard conditions were the *Roman Generals* enforced to yeeld, to save their owne lives, and the whole Army: but when they came to *Rome*, the Senate nor the People would not confirme this Peace, but greatly incensed, sent back the two Consuls to yeeld themselves prisoners to the *Samnites*, as the chiefe authors of the agreement. But these hard conditions, and inhumanitie of the *Samnites* did so inflame the *Romans* to vindication and revenge, that they would never afterwards make peace with them, but by a continuall warre of thirtie yeares, did utterly destroy the *Samnites* and their Commonweale. 2. The *Carthaginians*, and the *Romans* being entred into war, about the Island of *Sycilia*, which warre was called the first *Punique* warre, and having wasted their men of war, and their treasures, the *Carthaginians* did require to come to a Treatie of Peace, to which the *Romans* assented unto, but it was up-

b See Liv-
viii, Tac-
tum, Pisse-
roy, Com-
mines,
Richelieu,
Guichar-
dine.
i See Li-
vium 10.
Desade lib.
8. from
pag. 669.
to pag.
678.

on these hard conditions; That the *Carthaginians* should yeeld up unto the *Romans* all their holds that they had in their hands, and all the right and pretentions they had to that Island, & divers other hard conditions, concerning their Navy at sea; to which they were inforced to yeeld out of necessitie. But this inforced peace continued no longer, till the *Carthaginians* had repaired their ships, gathered new treasures, & strengthened themselves with new associations with their neighbour Princes, and then began the second *Punique* warre, that was farre more cruell and bloody then the former; for they sent a Navy into *Sycilia*, and a great Army into *Spaine*, under the command of *Amilicar*, father of *Hanniball*, who was also afterwards sent into *Italy* with an Army of threescore thousand men, & defeated the *Romans* in three famous battels; & had he but made use of these Victories, as he was counselled by the Generall of his horse, he had, in all humane probabilitie overthrowne the *Roman* Common-weale. 3.¹ *Philip* the second, King of *Macedonia*, having in a manner overcome the *Ætolians*, the *Romans* were called to their aide, and a cruell warre being thereupon false out betweene them and the said King, the *Romans* did so prevaile, that they inforced the said *Philip* to require peace, to which they assented unto upon these hard conditions; that they should not only surrender into their hands, all the holds he held in *Ætolia*, but raze also the Forts and Cittadels he had in divers Cities of *Greece*: but this inforced peace continued not long, for shortly after *Philip* repining at these hard conditions of peace, broke the same, in hope that *Antiochus*, the great King of *Asia* would come to his aide; but God, who had decreed in his private Counsell, that *Rome* should be the greatest Monarchie in the world, did hinder by his providence, the conjunction of these two great Princes; that in all probabilitie had overcome the *Roman* Common-weale, *Hanniball* being then fled into *Asia*, to perswade *Antiochus* to make war against the *Romans*; but things were, as I have said, so ordered by the divine Providence, that the Kingdome of *Macedonia* was subdued by the *Romans* before *Antiochus* came into *Greece*. 4. *Charles*, the last Duke of *Burgundie*, with the aide of the discontented Nobilitie of *France*, being come as farre as *Paris* with a great Army, inforced *Lewis* the 11th. King of *France*, to come to a Treatie of peace, and imposed upon the said King these hard conditions. 1. That he should create *Charles* his brother Duke of *Normandie*. 2. Pay a great summe of money to defray the charges of his Army. 3. Deliver up into the hands of the said Duke the City of *Abwille*, the Castle of *Perrone*, and *Demurlans*, *St. Quintin*, and divers other strong holds; which the said

4 See *Lives*
in 3. De-
cale ill.
334.

1 See Sir
Walter
Raleigh
in his *Es-
say* war.

m See *Pla-
tarch* in
Paulus
o *Emilius*
life.

n See *Phi-
lip* de
Communes
in *Lewis*
the 11th.
life.

King

King did assent unto, out of necessitie, and out of policie to disunite his brother and the *French Nobilitie* from the Duke; but these hard conditions of peace did so incense the King against the Duke, that he, by sabel policies, raised so many enemies against him, that he was the secondary cause of his ruine and over-throw. 5. ° *Francis*, the first of that name, King of *France*, having beene taken prisoner at the battell of *Pavia*, by the Viceroy of *Naples*, Generall of the Army of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, was carried to the Rock *Pisquene*, untill the Viceroy could obtaine order from the Emperour to dispose of his person. But before the Emperour gave order he should be brought into *Spaine*, he summoned the chieftest of his graye Councillors of State, to advise with them, how they should dispose of the King. The Councell being set, these three proposalls were presented to consult and resolve upon. 1. Whether they should graciously set him at libertie, without ransome, or any conditions at all. 2. Whether they should make the most of him, by imposing a great ransome upon him, and by inforcing him to surrender into the hands of the Emperour divers strong holds, that were conveniently seated to secure the Emperours dominions. 3. Whether they should retaine him prisoner all the dayes of his life. This last proposall was little insisted upon, as inhumane, and of small advantage to the Crowne of *Spaine*; but the other two were debated with great fervency. The Bishop of *Osimo*, a wise Politician made the first Oration, and maintained by strong arguments, that the greatest advantage and glory that could be made of the Kings imprisonment, and of the Emperours victory, for the good of the Kingdome of *Spaine*, would be, to set the *French King* at liberty, without ransome, or any conditions at all; and to give order to the Viceroy of *Naples*, to entertaine him royally, and with a strong Guard to conduct him, untill he came in his owne dominions; for since this Prince is of a generous disposition, said he, this courteous proceedings, and liberality of the Emperour towards him, will oblige him forever to be a loving and faithfull friend to the Emperour, and to the kingdome of *Spaine*; but if a great ransome be imposed upon him, and that he be inforced besides, to surrender any of his strong holds, the animosity of his spirit, inflamed already by his last misfortune, will be so increased by these hard conditions, that he will continue to his lives end a mortall enemy to the House of *Austria*, and will never be at rest till he hath found the opportunity to vindicate himselfe: And the inveterated spleene of so valiant a Prince, may, by a new and continuall warre, be more prejudiciall to *Spaine*, then the ran-

See the
Spanish
Historie
in Charles
the fifts
life.

See the
Spanish
Historie
in Charles
the fift.

some

g See *Gai-
sardine*.
lib. 16. pag.
916.

g See the
Inventorie
of France,
and de
Bailies
Commentaries.

some or strong holds we can require of him, can, or will be beneficiall to the Emperour and the Crowne of *Spaine*, &c. But the Duke *d'Alva*, a great souldier, but cruell, and a bad Politician, as it appeared afterwards in the Government of the *Netherlands*, rose up, and made the second Oration, maintaining, that it was to despise the blessing and favour of God, if the Emperour and the Kingdome of *Spaine* did not make use of that blessing that God had given into their hands, by the overthrow of the *French* Army, and of the taking of their King prisoner, and so by ridiculous arguments perswaded the Emperour to make the most of his prisoner, and to impose a great rancome upon him, and to inforce him to surrender such Garrisons as lay most convenient for the Emperour. This last counsell, although the worst of the two, was embraced by the Emperour, and so order was given to the Viceroy of *Naples*, to send over the *French* King into *Spaine*, where being arrived, he was kept close prisoner, and inforced to obtaine his liberty, by paying a very great rancome, and to promise to deliver such strong holds as they required of him, and for performance of these articles, that three of his children should remaine in *Spaine* as *Hottages* till they were performed. They being come, the King was set at liberty, and the rancome duly paid, but for the delivery of the strong holds, the three Estates of the Kingdome being summoned about it, did absolutely refuse to surrender them, maintaining, that their King had no power to alienate any thing from the Crowne, and that the Kings promise was of no validity, because it had been forced, and that the Emperour had not required their assent. In a word, these hard conditions did so incense the King, and the three Estates of *France*, against the Emperour, and the Houle of *Austria*, that they were the cause of a most bloody warre; in which the Emperour, and the Kingdome of *Spaine* had the worst, and wasted fourscore millions of gold, and in lieu to enlarge his dominions, he lost the Dukedome of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. 6. And lastly, *Simon Monfort*, Earle of *Leicester*, and divers other Barons of his faction, having inforced *Henry* the third, King of *England*, at a Parliament held at *Oxford*, to hard conditions of peace, because the party of the said Earle and Barons was the stronger; The said King upon the first opportunity that was offered, brake this peace, and although the Earle of *Leicester* had the better for a time in the civill warre, that brake forth upon the rupture of the peace; for by the chance of war, or rather because God would have it so, he defeated the Kings Army at the battell of *Lewis*; and the Prince that had routed the

the

the *Londoners*, was notwithstanding taken prisoner with his father, the Prince being sent into the *West* as a prisoner, and the King washed as a Trophe up and downe the Counties of *England*, to exalt the victory of *Montfort*, and withall to make the Governours of divers strong holds that held for the King, to surrender them unto him; yet by the falling out of the Earle of *Glocester*, with the said Earle of *Leicester*, about the division of their prey; the Prince of *Wales* being escaped out of prison, and joyned with the Earle of *Glocester*, and the Lord *Mortimer*, the whole Army of *Simon* *Montfort* was utterly defeated, and himselfe slaine at the battell of *Evesham*, and his head and hands were cut off, and sent as a present to the Lady *Mortimer*; by which meanes the King that was his prisoner, who was wounded in the battell, was released, and with great joy brought againe to *London* by his sonne the Prince of *Wales*, and the Earle of *Glocester*, Lord *Mortimer*, and others of his Nobility, &c. By these Instances, and many others that might be produced to this purpose, it may be observed, that just and equall conditions of peace on both sides, doth cause a peace to be firme and permanent; and that hard conditions of one of the sides, makes a peace, and all other accommodations, to be of no continuance. Which Maxime of State was carefully observed by *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, when he made peace with the Catholique Leaguers; for although they had enjured him in the highest degree, having done what they could to deprive him of the Crowne, and had wasted his Kingdome, and called in the *Spaniards* to their aid, yet did he grant them such favourable conditions, that they were well satisfied withall, granting them such impanities, and acts of oblivion as they desired, and restored them to their Honours, Lands, and Goods; by which gracious carriage, and rare clemency of his, he did so re-unite their affections, that they never broke their agreements, but continued faithfull in their loyalty and obedience all the dayes of his reigne, &c.

See *Simon* and *Speed* in *Henry* the third's reigne.

See *Pater Mar-*
ter *Mat-*
ther in
Henry the
fourth's
raigne.

CHAP. XXXVI.

*That in the Settlement of a State, the Settling of the true
Worship of God is to have the precedency.*

As the greatest care of a skillfull Architector, who intends to erect a stately Structure, is to lay in the first place a deepe and solid foundation,

dation, to make the same more durable & permanent: even so it should be
 the chiefest care of those that God hath honoured, & the people intrust-
 ed, to be the great Architects of the immateriall structure of the Go-
 vernment of a Common-weale, to begin, by the settling of the true wor-
 ship of God, and the discipline of the Church, as the most solid founda-
 tion, able to support their fabrick, and to make the same perpetuall, and
 for ever durable. The motives, or reasons to induce them to observe this
 method, are these. 1. All other foundations will prove but sandy, and
 will be apt to overthrow the building before it be halfe finished; but if
 the Civill and Military Governments be erected upon this foundation,
 it will be built upon a ^{*}Rock, that shall never be moved; although the
 raines fall, and the floods come, and the windes blow, and beat against
 it, yet it shall stand, because it is built upon a Rock. 2. God in the first
 Table of his Commandements doth charge all men, to preferre his Ser-
 vice, Worship, and Glory, before all temporall things whatsoever; and
 to that purpose, the four first Commandements, that tends especially to
 his glory, have the precedence before all the rest. 3. God in divers places
 of his word doth intimate unto men, that he is a jealous ^{*}God, visit-
 ing the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and
 fourth generation of those that hate him, and disobey his Commande-
 ments. And there can be no greater disobedience, then to transgresse
 the chiefest of his Commandements, which concerneth his Worship
 and Glory, by giving the precedency to temporall things, that are as
 much inferiour to Gods glory, as the finite creature is inferiour to the
 infinite Creatour. 4. By the rules of Christianity, men are obliged to
 implore by humble petitions and prayers, the aide and assistance of
 their gracious God, before they go about any other worke or employ-
 ment whatsoever; And what hope can they have that God will heare
 their prayers, and grant their desires, when they prefer carnall policies,
 and corruptible things before his worship and glory, &c. 5. The *Heathen*
Legistators did carefully observe in the settlement of their Common-
 weales, to settle in the first place the worship of their false gods, by a
 naturall instinct they had, of the reverence due to the true deity, and
 the eternall essence of God; as it may appeare in the Lawes of ^{*}*Solon*,
Lycurgus, and *Numa Pompilius*, and divers other *Romans*, and *Greeke*
Authours; and shall men that have the true knowledge of the ever li-
 ving God, be lesse reverend, and zealous for his glory, then they were
 to their imaginary gods? Besides, it hath been the constant practise of
 all the religious Kings of ^{*}*Juda*, and of divers pious Christian Princes, to
 begin

^{*} *Abuse*
 upon Mat.
 7. ver. 24.
 25, 26, 27.

^{*} *Exod.*
 20. ver. 5.

^{*} *Plurarch*
 in their
 lives.

^{*} 1 Kings,
 2 Kings,
 and the
 2 Chron.

begin the settlement, and reformations of their Kingdomes, by the settling of the Church, and setting of the true worship of God; as it may appear by the carriage of King *David*, *Solomon*, *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah* and *Josiah*: and by the proceedings of the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, and *Theodosius*, and of *Edward* the sixth, and of *Queene Elizabeth*, King and *Queene of England*. 6. And lastly, As much as the soules of men doth excell in worth and excellency their bodies, so much should they be more solicitous and carefull to procure the salvation of their soules, then they are to procure the health and welfare of their bodies; For what is a man profited, (saith our blessed Saviour) if he shall *gain the whole world, and lose his owne soule*; Even so, what will it avails to the free borne subjects of *England*, if the Civill and Military Governments be settled to their content, and may by it live in peace, and under their owne vines; If for want of the settling of the true worship of God, and of the Government of the Church, agreeing to his word, they lose their owne soules. Certainly the preservation of their bodies, and Estates, will be to small purpose, if they make shipwrack of their soules, and be deprived of eternall blisse. The settling then of the true worship of God, and the discipline of the Church, according to his word, is the only necessary thing that is to be done, and is to have the precedency, before the Civill and Military Affaires, as the only foundation, able to make the new intended settlement of the State durable and permanent; and the Architectsours of it happy in this life, and glorious in the life to come, &c.

b See the Ecclesiastique Historie.

c Matth. 16. ver. 26.

FINIS.

Errata.

Page 11. line. 26. for *Pedro Cruella*, reade *Pedro il Cruella* Chap 9. in the title. for *Imperious*. r. *Imperious*. p. 18. l. 4. f. not beloved. r. feared but not beloved. p. 19. l. 18. f. comes againe. r. it came againe. p. 27. l. 18. f. turned a like. r. be tuned a like. p. 51. l. 11. f. refuse. r. to refuse to obey the Commands. p. 51. l. 18. f. Hermits of Saints. r. two Hermits or Saints. p. 54. l. 16. f. *Zenophon*. r. *Xenophon*. p. 57. l. 39. f. *Perina*. r. *Perfina*. p. 59. l. 5. f. *Spain*, *Italy*. r. both *Spain* and *Italy*. p. 61. l. 23. f. receive his wicked designs. r. ready to execute. p. 62. l. 3. f. and *Pepin*. r. *Pepin*. p. 66. l. 2. f. *Pilate*. r. *Pilout*. p. 69. l. 6. f. 3. the *raigne*. r. 3. In the *raigne*. p. 69. l. 18. f. divided. r. dividing. p. 70. l. 2. f. that is to come. r. that is come. p. 71. l. 12. f. been. r. them. p. 71. l. 20. f. these *Edicts* by. r. these *Edicts* again. p. 81. l. 7. f. *City*. r. *Cities*. p. 82. l. 11. f. by *Henry* fifth. r. by *Henry* the fifth.